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The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians

As Revealed by the Rorschach Test

By
ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

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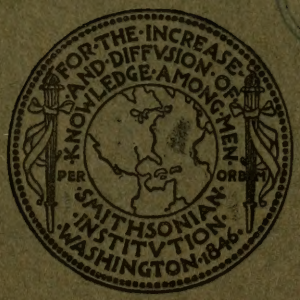

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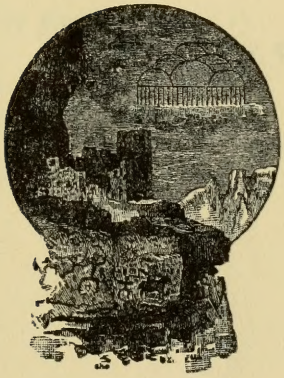

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., September 1, 1950.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians, as revealed by the Rorschach Test," by Anthony F. C. Wallace, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. STIRLING, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
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PREFACE

This monograph is primarily concerned with the analysis and interpretation of a sample of 70 adult Rorschach protocols collected on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation, near Niagara Falls, N. Y. Auxiliary ethnographic materials on the Tuscarora, one of the least known of the Iroquoian tribes, are presented to give the psychological data depth and background.

Many questions can be asked of this body of material. One of them concerns the general psychic character of the group. "What is the typical Tuscarora Indian like, psychologically?" is the question this study set out to answer. In so doing, new techniques for the analysis and conceptualization of Rorschach group results were developed. The writer hopes that the method of analysis of group Rorschach data here employed will be found more precise than any used hitherto and suitable for facilitating answers not only to the central question—what is the typical Tuscarora Indian like, psychologically?—but also to other questions, such as: What, if any, deviant types of personality are there in this community? How frequent is psychological typicality and deviancy? Does psychological deviancy correlate closely with neurosis or psychosis? Do the deviants adjust to their society? What personality differences are associated with sex? What are the social roles of modal and deviant types? Can personality differences between populations be reliably stated? All of these questions, and others, have received attention from the personality-and-culture school of anthropologists. The writer hopes that the techniques here used make the answers to those questions considerably more reliable, more "objective," and more precise.

In the completion of this study, the writer is most conscious of the extent to which he has depended upon the time, energy, and specialized knowledge of many people. His primary debt is to Mrs. Mina Smith, Daniel Smith, and Mrs. Pauline MtPleasant, members of the Tuscarora community, in whose home the writer stayed during the period of field work, and on whom he relied very heavily for information, advice, and encouragement. Without their aid the task could not have been undertaken. To Dr. A. I. Hallowell, the late Dr. F. G. Speck, and Dr. William N. Fenton, the writer owes the initial stimulus to begin the study, most of the training necessary to see it through, and constant guidance and support in its course. Dr. Hallowell in particular, as the writer's dissertation super-

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visor, gave generously of time and encouragement in leading the writer into and through the mazes of anthropology and psychology, and in discussing the manuscript with him in detail. To Dr. Loren C. Eiseley he acknowledges generous administrative backing. Dr. Bruno Klopfer, Miss Eleanor Ross, and Mrs. Maude Hallowell patiently expounded the principles of the Rorschach test to him; what deficiencies appear in his treatment of the Rorschach data are owing to his own failure to take full advantage of their instruction. To A. F. Brown and Miss Doris West, colleagues in Iroquois Rorschach work, he owes many enlightening hours of comparing notes and threshing out impressions, and to Dr. Malcolm G. Preston and Dr. Julius Wishner he is indebted for the basic suggestions on which the method of statistical analysis was based. Dr. Ward Goodenough encouraged the writer to sharpen the statistical and theoretical formulations.

Special gratitude is felt to Betty Wallace, the writer's wife, for her constant interest and participation in the field work, for relieving him of some of the load of Rorschach administration, and for the many hours she suffered as the receiving end of a one-way dialog about the modal personality structure of the Tuscarora Indians.

A. F. C. W.

Philadelphia
March 1950.

THE MODAL PERSONALITY STRUCTURE OF THE TUSCARORA INDIANS AS REVEALED BY THE RORSCHACH TEST

By Anthony F. C. Wallace

INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The aim of this study is to describe the type of psychological structure characteristic of the Tuscarora Indians of New York State. The community of Tuscarora under discussion is small, comprising about 600 persons living on a reservation 10 square miles in area, on the outskirts of Niagara Falls, N. Y. They belong to the group of peoples speaking northern-Iroquoian languages; more specifically, they are one of the "Six Nations" of the famous Iroquois Confederacy. Today they are heavily acculturated. From this group the writer has secured some 70 adult Rorschach protocols. These provide the basic data for the psychological analysis, which undertakes to answer the general question, "*What is the type of psychological structure most characteristic of the adult Tuscarora Indians of this community, insofar as it can be inferred from the obtained Rorschach sample?*"

This study is a part of two broad programs of anthropological research: the ethnological study of the Iroquois Indians of the Northeastern Woodlands; and the investigation of the relationships between personality and culture. It may be well to discuss at some length the ways in which the writer's affiliations with these programs have determined the nature of the present research and helped to define the problem here under attack.

THE HISTORY OF IROQUOIAN STUDIES

The Iroquoian-speaking peoples have attracted attention from travelers, missionaries, and scientists ever since Jacques Cartier encountered the "Laurentian Iroquois" on his exploring voyage up the St. Lawrence River in 1534. Extensive accounts of Iroquoian custom and behavior survive from the colonial period, in the published writings of Cartier, the Jesuit missionaries and the gentlemen-scholars of New

France, and the Dutch and English traders and Indian agents of North Carolina, New York, and Pennsylvania; in various publications of the official government records of treaties and embassies; and in the manuscript archives of several countries. Variously described as "devils," "forest gentlemen," and "Romans" or "Spartans of the New World," the Iroquois became a household word not only in the eastern colonies, but in France and England as well, and almost came to symbolize "the noble savage" to the early social evolutionists of the eighteenth century.[1]

With the publication in 1851 of Lewis Henry Morgan's League of the Hodenosaunee, the Iroquois became one of the classic tribes of ethnology; since that date they have served generations of scholars as an example of "matriarchy" (Morgan, 1851). Morgan's book has been called the first scientific ethnography ever written. It not only provided the springboard for his later elaborations of the cultural evolutionist position, in Ancient Society and in Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity; it set apart the field of Iroquoian studies as almost a separate division within American anthropology. In Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America, for instance, more titles are listed for the Iroquois than for any other tribe; 296 in all. The Iroquois' nearest competitor, the Navaho, boast only 269 (Murdock, 1941). One may thus be an "Iroquoianist" in almost the same degree as one may be a linguist, or an archeologist, or an ethnologist!

Students of Morgan's generation dwelt upon the Iroquois as an example of matriarchal society. Although many peoples are known to ethnology as matrilineal, and some of them as much more regularly matrilocal than the Iroquois, Morgan's influence, and the popularity of the Iroquois as a case study, have kept them in the spotlight. As late as 1922, Goldenweiser wrote a chapter in his Early Civilization entitled "The Iroquois Matriarchate" (Goldenweiser, 1922).[2] Curiosity about the matriarchal Iroquois continues, as is evidenced, for example, in a paper read by A. F. Brown before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1949, entitled, "An Analysis of Onondaga Family Life and Its Implications for Onondaga Sociology."[3] This paper, among other things, emphasizes the role of the women, in both Onondaga family and community events, as determiners of the men's behavior. But the new interest in the high status of Iroquois women is no longer associated with a scheme of social evolution in which matriarchy is characteristic of one of the

[1] See Lafitau, 1724, who wrote on the Hurons and viewed their culture as representative of the early stages of the then more "advanced" civilizations.

[2] The Iroquois are included in at least three ethnographic anthologies: Goldenweiser (1922), Murdock (1934), Mead (1937).

[3] This paper is elaborated in detail in Brown (1950).

early stages; present concern is rather with the structure and functioning of Iroquois society itself.

After Morgan's heyday, scientists affiliated with the Bureau of American Ethnology, and students trained by Boas or schooled in the Boasian tradition, approached the Iroquois. To these students—who include an impressive roster of names widely known in American anthropology—we owe a great number of scattered publications. Careful field work and detailed description made many of these studies excellent as monographs on selected aspects of the cultures of several of the tribes. The chief problem, interest in which has traditionally united all Iroquoianists since Morgan's day, was the historical one: how northern Iroquoian culture and population got into their present geographical location. Fenton has summarized this question neatly:

> The major problem in Iroquois culture history is that of explaining their intrusive linguistic and cultural position. . . . [Iroquoians] had driven a wedge between Algonquian-speaking peoples north and south of the Lower [Great] Lakes and as far down the St. Lawrence River as the mouth of the Saguenay. Here was a block of incorporating languages far afield of the nearest similar stock, the Caddoan-speaking peoples, in the west watershed of the middle Mississippi. Moreover, the Iroquoians were horticultural tribes with matrilineal clans; they separated loosely organized patrilineal bands of northern Algonquian hunters from semisedentary fishing, hunting, and horticultural Algonquians of southern New England and the Middle Atlantic States. South of them were loosely organized Siouans. Iroquois culture has its closest resemblances in the broad area of intensive maize-growing tribes to which the northern Algonquians seem definitely marginal. [Fenton, 1940, p. 164.]

The Bureau scientists and the Boas students have suggested answers to this question. Ethnologists agree that the affiliations of Iroquoian culture are southeastern, with the exception of some traits (such as shamanistic practices) which bear a northern stamp. For a time it was felt that the northern Iroquoians had migrated from the southeast, carrying their culture with them, into their historic location in very recent times, displacing an earlier population of horticultural, pottery-making Algonkians in New York State. More recently, however, both archeologists and ethnologists have been coming round to the opinion that as a population the northern Iroquois have been in their present area for a very long time, and that some of their cultural traits (e. g., pottery style) were developed by them, or were diffused to them, in situ.

It has been the practice for long to treat "The Iroquois" as a substantially homogeneous cultural entity; thus, Morgan's description of the Seneca, which is the heart of the League of the Hodenosaunee, was assumed to cover adequately at least the other major members of the league—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga. What differences there were, were either ignored or supposed to be matters of

ethnographic minutiae. Beginning in 1933, however, Dr. Frank G. Speck undertook to investigate local differentiation in Iroquois religious practices, starting with a detailed study of one of the Cayuga longhouses.[4] Dr. William N. Fenton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, whom Speck guided in his first field work, as the co-dean (with Speck) of latter-day Iroquoianists, has organized research in intercommunity differences in culture and language, making himself responsible for the Allegany Seneca. Following four annual Conferences on Iroquois Research held at Red House in Allegany State Park, N. Y., Iroquoianists under Dr. Fenton's leadership presented a special symposium on the theme, "Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture" at the 1949 meetings of the American Anthropological Association in New York City.[5] Dr. C. F. Voegelin and Dr. Floyd Lounsbury have taken up the problem of comparative Iroquoian linguistics. Comparative Iroquoian studies are thus well under way.

Even more recently, Iroquoianists have begun to use their Iroquoians as a laboratory for the investigation of general hypotheses about the nature and processes of culture. The Iroquoian tribes provide almost ideal opportunities for the social scientist to use the experimental method. They are small communities which can be studied in totality; the populations can be isolated and defined with precision, and the operating variables directly identified and measured; and there exists surprisingly detailed information about the cultural ancestry of each community for a period of from three to four hundred years. Dr. Fenton has shown interest in the application of Iroquoian data to theoretical constructions, having written papers on such diverse topics as "personality expression in ritual," "the stability of a culture pattern," and "locality as a basic factor in social structure" (Fenton, MS. 1937, 1941 a, 1951). He has also in one context discussed at length certain personality-and-culture formulations, noting that they are open to test on Iroquoian territory, and asking, in particular, whether the cultural conservatism of the Iroquois is paralleled by retention of old-established personality characteristics (Fenton, 1948, p. 506).

THE TUSCARORA AS A LACUNA IN AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

The Tuscarora have probably received less attention from anthropologists than any other of the surviving Iroquoian-speaking peoples.[6] The Hurons, the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca), and the Cherokee have all been the subjects of major

[4] See Speck, 1949, for the report of this study.

[5] This symposium is published as Bulletin 149 of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

[6] Nevertheless, the writer has been able to collect a Tuscarora bibliography of over a hundred titles.

monographs. No major scientific monograph has appeared dealing with the Tuscarora, either ethnographically or linguistically. (Indeed, no article has ever appeared, to the writer's knowledge, dealing with Tuscarora linguistics.) [6a] This is somewhat remarkable, because a series of well-known ethnologists and linguists have either visited the New York State reservation or worked with New York Tuscarora informants: Lewis H. Morgan, A. S. Gatschet, Erminie Smith, J. N. B. Hewitt, Alexander Goldenweiser, Dr. F. M. Olbrechts, Dr. Arthur Parker, Dr. Frank G. Speck, Dr. W. N. Fenton, and Dr. Floyd Lounsbury, to mention some of the more prominent names. Morgan collected a kinship schedule for his Systems, based on work done with two Tuscarora informants, in 1860. A. S. Gatschet, one of the early ethnologists attached to Major Powell's Bureau of Ethnology, from 1883 to 1885 collected a number of texts in the Tuscarora language, together with fragments of ethnological information. Gatschet, however, never published his data, which have remained on file with the Bureau of American Ethnology, where they were made available to the writer through the kind offices of Dr. W. N. Fenton. Erminie Smith, also one of Major Powell's scholars, visited the reservation on the Niagara Frontier and collected texts, some of which were published in her Myths of the Iroquois (Smith, 1883). J. N. B. Hewitt, a Tuscarora Indian, did magnificent work for the Bureau on Iroquoian subjects, but unfortunately never published the bulk of his notes and personal knowledge about his own people, his major article concerning them being a historical sketch in the Handbook (Hewitt, 1910). The great bulk of his Tuscarora notes, largely texts and vocabularies, survive at the Bureau of American Ethnology, where they were made available to the writer, again through the mediation of Dr. W. N. Fenton. Goldenweiser visited the New York State reservation on several occasions in the decade 1910–20, and took a quantity of notes on genealogy and social organization. Nothing was published. Goldenweiser's notes came into the personal custody of Dr. W. N. Fenton, who has given the writer the use of them. Dr. Speck and Dr. Fenton (both of whose notes I have also used), Dr. Parker, Dr. Olbrechts, and Dr. Lounsbury have all made brief visits to the reservation and collected linguistic materials and notes on various topics. Some of these latter materials may yet be published.

The reasons for the ethnological neglect of the Tuscarora probably lie partly in their anomalous position in the roster of Iroquoian tribes. Originally located in North Carolina, they migrated into New York State during the eighteenth century and were received into the Iroquois

[6a] See, however, in vol. 17 (1951), pp. 42–47 of the International Journal of American Linguistics, an article under the joint authorship of the writer and William D. Reyburn, entitled Crossing the Ice: A Migration Legend of the Tuscarora Indians. Text in phonetics and interlinear translation are included.

Confederacy, which in consequence came to be known from about 1722 as the "Six Nations" (formerly, "Five Nations"). They further split into two factions during the American Revolution, and a pro-British party followed Joseph Brant into Canada after the defeat of King George's forces. Survivors of this band remain on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, surrounded by large numbers of several other Iroquoian and Algonkian tribes. The pro-American band settled on the site of the present reservation near Niagara Falls, N. Y. Both groups have been regarded by other Iroquoian peoples as "poor relations" and as somewhat "queer" in speech and custom as judged by usual Iroquoian standards. The Tuscarora acculturated themselves, during the nineteenth century, more rapidly than did the other Iroquoian communities, and thus widened the breach. Ethnologists have probably, in consequence, considered the Tuscarora as a "problematical" people, to study whom would not advance the knowledge of general Iroquoian traits.

ORIENTATION, TRAINING, AND THE FIELD SITUATION

The writer went into the field in July 1948 in the interest of three lines of research: Iroquoianist, with Dr. Speck and Dr. Fenton encouraging him to collect ethnographic data which might serve to define the Tuscarora position in the realm of Iroquoian peoples; culture-and-personality, with Dr. Hallowell and Dr. Fenton anxious to see psychological (and especially Rorschach) data from an Iroquoian community for comparison with the Algonkian materials; linguistic, with Dr. William E. Lingelbach, librarian of the American Philosophical Society, wanting wire recordings in the Tuscarora language.[7]

Dr. F. G. Speck, who is more widely known for his work among the Southeastern tribes and among the Algonkian hunters of the extreme Northeast, as we have seen from about 1933, began to cultivate an interest in the Iroquoians. Dr. Speck recognized the need for the study of cultural variation within the Iroquoian sphere, and among the aspects of this problem, he included the question of the ethnological position of the Tuscarora. The Tuscarora had for a long time lived in the Southeast; thus it was desirable to see whether Tuscarora was noticeably more Southeastern in cultural detail than the Five Nations of New York and the Hurons of Canada. The Southeastern

[7] This is not the place to discuss at length the material of the recordings. Dr. C. F. Voegelin and Dr. Zellig S. Harris, linguists and advisers to the American Philosophical Society, wanted such recordings for inclusion in the Society's Franz Boas Collection of linguistic materials. Dr. W. E. Lingelbach, learning of the writer's projected field trip to Tuscarora, suggested that he bring back the Tuscarora recordings. (See Wallace, 1949, for a summary of the material recorded in the 1948 season.) A total of 16 spools of wire recordings are now on file at the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

location of this tribe might possibly also have some bearing on the proposed Southeastern origin of the Iroquoian population. Dr. Speck helped Dr. Fenton to get in motion his program for a coordinated attack on problems of Iroquoian similarities and differences; and Dr. Fenton, too, began to recommend a Tuscarora study.

At this time an interest in the Tuscarora language also was developing. Students of Iroquoian linguistics, including Dr. C. F. Voegelin and Dr. Floyd Lounsbury, were aware that "the precise position of the Tuscarora language in the Iroquois family is not definitely known, and the structure of Tuscarora is not at all known" (Voegelin, 1949, p. 139). The time was ripe for someone to sound-record texts and other linguistic material in Tuscarora.

In 1946, Dr. A. I. Hallowell introduced a new dimension to Iroquoian studies: the culture-and-personality approach. Dr. Hallowell had been known to Iroquoianists as one of the first American anthropologists to use the Rorschach ink-blot test (one of the "projective" techniques of the clinical psychologists) extensively in field research. His field work had been largely done among the partly acculturated Ojibwa Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region, and among another much more acculturated Ojibwa group in Wisconsin. Generalizing from his psychological researches among the Algonkian hunters, and from the reflections on Indian behavior of sundry missionaries and travelers of the colonial period, Dr. Hallowell in 1946 published an article entitled, "Some Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians" (Hallowell, 1946). This article drew attention to the similarities between the descriptions of native personality in the older accounts, and the personality structure as revealed by today's Rorschachs, and proposed that a certain conservative core of personality traits characterized the Indians of the Northeastern Woodlands. Insofar as most of his historical data concerned Algonkian hunters, and the Rorschachs the Ojibwa alone, it nevertheless remained a question whether Iroquoians shared the Algonkian pattern. Hallowell said:

> Since the native population of the entire Eastern Woodland area, as compared with other regions of North America, had a certain community of culture traits in aboriginal times we might expect the people of the Northeast to share *some* basic psychological features in common. On the other hand, the differences between Algonkian and Iroquois culture would imply some psychological differences. Such questions are too difficult, or perhaps impossible, to answer at this date, particularly in view of the fact that we have scarcely begun to inquire into the effects upon personality organization of various stages in acculturation. Original cultural differentials between Algonkian and Iroquois may of course have influenced the acculturation process itself, and the Iroquois peoples, considered as individuals, may even today exhibit psychological characteristics that differentiate them from acculturated Ojibwa or Cree or Naskapi. [Hallowell, 1946, p. 197.]

Dr. Fenton picked up the suggestion. In a review article in the American Anthropologist on the status of anthropology in the Northeast, he spent five pages discussing the general similarities between Ojibwa and Iroquois personality types. He concluded:

> This review has noted similarities between Hallowell's Ojibwa findings and the personality structure of Iroquois individuals known to the writer. Are the notable contrasts between Iroquois political organization and ceremonial life and the lack of such developments among either Saulteaux Ojibwa or Wabanaki-Algonquians . . . paralleled by similar differences in personality structure? Possibly Hallowell will put a student on this scent. [Fenton, 1948, p. 510.]

By the time Dr. Fenton's article appeared in July 1948, Dr. Hallowell (who had discussed the matter privately with Dr. Fenton) had put not one but two students on the scent: A. F. Brown and the writer, both of whom were graduate students in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, and both of whom had taken work with both Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell. Mr. Brown was encouraged to go to the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, N. Y.; the writer, to Tuscarora.

Plans for the Tuscarora study began early in the spring of 1948. Dr. Hallowell's suggestion, seconded by Dr. Speck and Dr. Fenton, that the writer consider doing some Rorschach and ethnological work at Tuscarora, fitted his need for field work to gather material for a doctoral dissertation. The Tuscarora research, as time went on, proved to be adequate for thesis treatment.

The culture area of the Northeastern Woodlands was at this time being discussed in Dr. Speck's seminar on the American Indian; the writer participated in this seminar for 2 years. Dr. Hallowell's course in psychology and culture provided certain necessary conceptual backgrounds for work in personality and culture. These academic and literary contacts with the culture area of the Northeastern Woodlands and with the sort of problems to be dealt with from both psychological and ethnological standpoints were diffuse rather than intensive; they provided a large-scale coordinate system upon which to plot the major outlines of Tuscarora culture and personality, without committing the research to any rigid program.

In order to acquire an understanding of the rationale, and proficiency in the administration, scoring, and interpretation of the Rorschach test, as well as some acquaintance with other projective techniques, the writer spent 3 weeks of intensive study in June 1948 at the Rorschach Institute's Summer Workshop, at Crafts, N. Y., under the direction of Dr. Bruno Klopfer. He also made several short field trips with Dr. Speck and E. S. Carpenter to the Iroquois Reservation at Grand River (near Brantford), Ontario, and to the remnant Nanticoke (Algonkian) community on Indian River, Del.,

which gave him the opportunity of observing an experienced anthropologist's behavior in the field, and of doing some informant work on his own. These experiences were extremely valuable in providing a "feel" for the field situation.

Some years ago Dr. Speck visited the Tuscarora Reservation for a day or two, and came to regard as a friend one of the community, Clinton Rickard. A letter from Dr. Speck to Mr. Rickard served as the writer's introduction to the community. Mr. Rickard was able to find living quarters for him with the family of his friend, Mr. Daniel Smith, a well-known herbalist. A large upstairs room, equipped with bed, table, chest, and chairs, was rented in the Smith's house, and "Professor Wallace" was invited to take his meals with the family. These living arrangements were not only physically comfortable but emotionally congenial. After a few days of painful shyness on all parts, "the Professor" (as the community persisted, in spite of denials, in calling him) was able to fit into the household structure and to play a role in the domestic economy—and thereby, to a minor extent, in the life of the community.

The Smith family included "Dan," a 69-year-old Tuscarora Indian, who supported the family by wage labor, working on a road gang employed by the New York State Department of Highways; "Mina," his wife, the housekeeper, aged 49, a sociological Tuscarora but technically an alien because her mother was a Grand River Iroquois; Pauline MtPleasant, their daughter, 22, a widow; and Terry MtPleasant, Pauline's daughter, 3 years old. Dan was a traditionalist, speaking adequate but broken English, and much more at home in Tuscarora; he knew a great deal of the old folklore and mythology, and was a practicing herbalist of considerable repute. Mina spoke excellent English (as do all of the younger Tuscarora) and knew some Tuscarora, but was reluctant to use it. Pauline spoke only English, as did her daughter. Thus the family itself included a wide range of age grades and social statuses.

The writer's status in the family was initially defined by the frankly admitted purpose of the visit—to make recordings of the Tuscarora language; to make notes on the history, customs, and traditions of the Tuscarora as Indians; to observe the manner of life on the present-day reservation; to study psychological characteristics by means of the Rorschach test. He was thus a paying guest with a specific job to do, and it was tacitly understood that the services which he paid for included help in forwarding the investigations, insofar as such help would not interfere with the family's normal routine of living. On the other hand, it was understood that he was expected to help the family by providing automobile transportation to the grocery store,

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to other Indian families, and to neighboring towns, insofar as such services would not incommode his own work. While occasional friction developed over the balance and timing of these mutual arrangements, they worked on the whole smoothly.

The writer's family joined him after he had been living with the Smith's for a month. The living arrangements were not changed, the visitors all occupying the large room upstairs, and eating their meals with the family. The coming of his wife and 2-year old son further defined the writer's status as a man with a family of his own. These arrangements were repeated the second year of field work, with the exception that in 1949 the writer's family spent only the first half of the summer on the reservation, and he finished up the work alone during the latter half.

A more satisfactory structure of the field situation would be difficult to imagine. Excellent rapport obtained with the family with whom the writer was staying, and these people participated in the field work itself quite as much as he participated in their lives. Acceptance by one family meant at least tentative acceptance by the community as a whole. The writer did not, of course, become indistinguishable from the other members of the community; he was probably the most conspicuously alien person living on the reservation. This was true in spite of the fact that in some measure he was a participant observer as well as a foreigner with a notebook. But, while the writer's position in the community was always that of the ethnographer, he got along very well indeed with almost everyone *as* an ethnographer, was admitted to many homes, and made many personal friends.

The reaction of the community as a whole might be described as bland. People who did not personally know the ethnographer, simply paid no attention to him; those who were introduced, were (with rare exceptions) polite and cooperative. Personal relationships with informants developed into pleasant but not close friendships; as much cooperation was received as could have been expected, back home, only from very close friends or from highly paid agents, but here this cooperation was carried on in an offhand, cool way. There was light without heat, so to speak. In the fantasy of several persons, however, the ethnographer became attached to several of the stereotypes, and thus became a legitimate depository for highly charged emotion. One woman, for instance, whom he had never met, circulated lurid rumors that his upstairs room at the Smith's was an alchemist's laboratory, with test tubes and retorts and bottles of chemicals, and gleaming skulls, in which he performed nameless machinations. From several sources it was learned that he was suspected of being a Russian spy who reported nightly to the Kremlin by means of his "radio" (the wire-recording machine). To some, he was only a symbol of the

"enemy"—the oppressing white people; to others, he was a powerful white man who had great influence with statesmen and politicians. All these misconceptions were politely contradicted whenever they were heard, and most of the people, most of the time, took the writer for what he really was and professed to be: an ethnographer gathering material for his doctoral dissertation.

Personal relationships with members of the community were handled, as personal relationships normally are, with due respect for the personalities involved and the exigencies of etiquette. Individuals were approached only after the writer had been introduced by another Indian. He avoided attending social occasions (e. g., a funeral) to which he had not been invited. His requests for assistance were made with the explanation, or the understanding, that this was scientific research and as such distinct from either commercial ventures or official investigations. It was assumed that mature and intelligent people would be willing to spend some time and trouble in giving necessary aid, such as taking a Rorschach or discussing the clan system, or whatever might be the item on the agenda. For such services payment was not offered (although, of course, ordinary courtesies, such as giving someone a lift in the car, sharing cigarettes, and so on, were freely extended, both to informants and to persons who were neither present nor potential informants). Only where acting as an informant would entail considerable loss of time, and could consequently be regarded as "work," was payment made, at a rate of about 50 cents an hour.

The methodology of actual observation was simple enough. It was necessary first of all to make a large map of the reservation, locating major topographical features and all roads, dwellings, and public buildings (school, gymnasium, stores, etc.). Next a census was prepared, giving the name, age, sex, primary relatives, clan, and dwelling of each individual. This census was not secured by house-to-house canvassing, which would have been more accurate but which would, it was considered, have antagonized many people. The census was obtained by taking the map, on which all dwellings were located, and questioning the members of the Smith family, particularly Mina, as to who lived in each house, and requesting their names, age, sex, and clan. The reliability of this information, which was checked against statements by other informants and against an official government list of Tuscarora Indians eligible for annuity payments, was very high. Linguistic materials were acquired by making recordings of legends, vocabulary, etc., in the Indian language, and either recording or writing down the translations. No effort was made to learn the Tuscarora language because everyone spoke English. A filing system was started for general ethnographic data, arranged

according to Murdock's early Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock, 1938). Notes were taken in the informants' presence, when it was felt that the informant would not object to (or, in some cases, expected) this. Where the informant was shy of paper and pencil, the writer depended upon his memory until in a free moment the conversation could be recorded. Except when it was necessary to follow a schedule of desired information (for instance, on kinship terminology), it was not found that depending on memory seriously interfered with the recording of data. From time to time, extended notes were made of general impressions of the quality or patterns of behavior, of particular personalities, and so forth. These materials were classified according to modifications or extensions of the Murdock decimal scheme.

Owing to the favorable field situation, which meant that prolonged, intimate and friendly contact with a group of reliable informants could be maintained during his two summers' field work, the writer feels that this comparatively short period enabled him to gather enough materials to sketch the main outlines of Tuscarora culture.

THE TUSCARORA INDIANS

IDENTITY

In pre-Contact times, the Tuscarora Indians were an American Indian tribe who spoke a language belonging to the Iroquoian stock. The Iroquoian linguistic stock is divided into two groups, northern Iroquoian and southern Iroquoian. Tuscarora belongs to the northern group. In the sixteenth century, at the time of contact, most of the northern Iroquoians were settled in the general region of the lower Great Lakes. The Tuscarora, however, lived far to the south on the piedmont and coastal plain of what is now the State of North Carolina.

During the eighteenth century, the Tuscarora migrated north to join the other surviving northern Iroquoians. During one of the stages of this migration, the Tuscarora nation split into two parts. One faction went to Canada, where their descendants, some 400 in number, now live on the Grand River Reservation, in Ontario, in the midst of over 4,000 other Iroquois and Algonkians of several tribes. The other group settled on a reservation in the State of New York, near Niagara Falls, where some 550 of their descendants (reckoning bilaterally) still live, together with about 50 people from other reservations and white men who have married in.

This study was made among the people living on the Tuscarora Reserve in New York State. For the purposes of the investigation, it was decided that no useful end would be served by considering only the 450 people genealogically recognized as "Tuscarora Indians" as also the only sociological Tuscarora. Most of the "aliens" living on

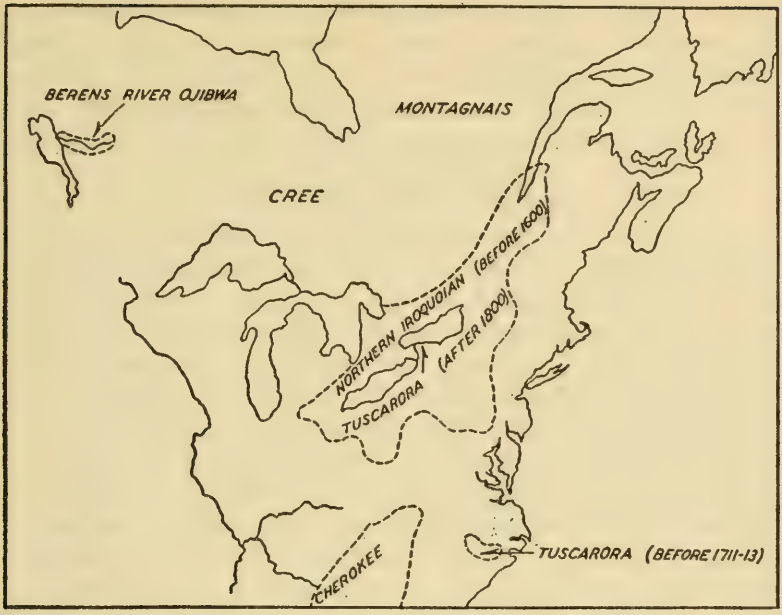

FIGURE 1.—Tribal map of the Eastern Woodlands (after Kroeber, 1939).

the reservation were born and brought up there, and speak Tuscarora if they speak an Indian language at all. Their "foreignness" usually consists of being the descendants, sometimes three or four generations removed, of foreign women who married Tuscarora men and came to live on their husbands' reserve. In a matrilineal society, this makes these descendants legal aliens. In this community study, however, anyone is considered to be a Tuscarora (i. e., to be a member of the Tuscarora community) who spent the first 6 or 7 years of his life on the reservation, or who was born and/or raised off the reserve by a Tuscarora mother and later returned to spend a major portion of his adult life on the reservation. Naturally, only those persons at present living on or near the reserve were available for study.

At the present time Tuscarora culture in many respects approximates surrounding white culture so closely that differences are sometimes difficult or impossible to discern. Furthermore, the high incidence of non-Tuscarora ancestry in the genealogies indicates the probability of extensive cultural influx from other Indian communities in the recent (as well as remote) past. No great effort has been made, in this investigation, to isolate and define what is "Indian" or, more specifically, "Tuscarora Indian," about those people now, while ignoring their "white" traits. Nor has an extensive historical reconstruction of aboriginal Tuscarora culture been attempted. This is a description of the culture and personality of a community in New

York State which, like all communities in the world, is not a culturally "pure" strain, but is formed of elements from many cultures. It is now just another "American" community, with its own special characteristics; one of these characteristics happens to be a high incidence of Tuscarora Indian cultural and biological ancestry.

HISTORY OF THE TUSCARORA[8]

The Tuscarora Indians, when Raleigh's colonists first settled in the new-found land of Virginia, were discovered inhabiting a large part of the piedmont and coastal plain of what is now the State of North Carolina. Their towns, said to number as many as 24, sheltering perhaps 6,000 souls, were scattered along the Neuse, Tar, and Roanoke Rivers, and were united in a loose military league. Their subsistence base was agriculture, eked out by hunting. Like their Iroquoian kinsmen to the north, the matrilineal Tuscarora in Carolina were famous warriors, their raiding parties being the scourge of surrounding Algonkian and Siouan tribes; and, like the Five Nations, the Tuscarora, too, evidently had leanings toward confederacy, their "nation" being welded out of several tribal groups.

The Tuscarora—once again like the northern Iroquois—early entered into commercial relations with white settlers on the coast and became ruthless middlemen in the lucrative trade in skins and furs, exchanging rum for peltries with inland tribes many miles from their own towns. This symbiotic relationship of the Whites on the coast and the Tuscarora in the interior was mutually satisfactory during most of the seventeenth century. But toward the end of that period the Whites began seriously to press inland. The early Carolina settlers were not careful to arrange formal land cessions with the Indians; and furthermore, they were imprudent enough to kidnap Tuscarora children to sell as slaves—a proceeding well calculated to arouse bitter resentment, and remembered even today as the prime emotional cause of the sanguinary Tuscarora War.

The Tuscarora War (1711–13) began with an almost-successful surprise assault by the Indians which aimed at annihilating all the encroaching white settlements. Reinforcements, largely consisting of Indian warriors hostile to the Tuscarora, were summoned from South Carolina. The relief armies destroyed several of the Tuscarora's main forts and villages along the Neuse River. These costly defeats, together with the fact that the Tuscarora themselves were split into pro- and anti-English factions, and a general confusion over the whole situation, shattered the already uncertain unity of Tuscarora

[8] The following narrative is quoted, with minor changes, from Wallace, 1949, pp. 159–162. Reprinted by permission of the American Philosophical Society. The sources employed are De Graffenried, ca. 1713; Hewitt, 1910; Lawson, 1714; Society of Friends, 1838, 1866; and the writer's own field notes and wire recordings.

society. Many Tuscarora trekked northward to join their kinsmen of the Five Nations as early as 1713; others, under the heel of the Whites, remained in North Carolina and Virginia, whence straggling bands moved north from time to time during the next 90 years. The last community of Carolina Indians conscious of itself as Tuscarora marched north to New York about 1803; but even today there are legends of Tuscarora tribal remnants, largely assimilated by the negroid population, still lingering in the South.

Meanwhile the Tuscarora who had moved northward underwent further political disintegration. Some settled along the Juniata in Pennsylvania, others along the Susquehanna at Wyoming (the region about what is now Wilkes-Barre, Pa.) and near Oquaga in the Oneida country (near present Binghamton, N. Y.), others in the Onondaga country, between present Syracuse and Oneida Lake, N. Y., and various minor bands were strewn along other rivers and valleys in Pennsylvania and New York. As a group they were "adopted" by the Five Nations—i. e., given permission to stay in Five Nations country—about 1722, and henceforth the New York Iroquois were called the Six Nations. This adoption did not extend to the Tuscarora the right of an equal voice and a tribal vote in the Great Council. During the French and Indian wars, and Pontiac's War, the Tuscarora, along with the Mohawk and Oneida, were as a whole hearty in the English interest. But the continuing pressure of European settlements and trade continued to sap the strength of the already disbanded and shattered nation. With the opening of the Revolutionary War, the critical dissolution of the old culture was imminent.

The Tuscarora nation (if the word "nation" can be applied to the members of a number of communities scattered among alien peoples) split into two factions during the Revolution: an actively pro-British faction and a neutral, pro-American one. Both factions were swept aside by the notorious punishment expeditions in 1779 of Van Schaick and Sullivan. Some of the refugees continued northward to the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Ontario, where their descendants are now; others in 1781 planted a town on the escarpment overlooking the Niagara River. The present 10-square-mile reserve includes this original tract, although the village is no more, having been burned during the War of 1812. The close of the Revolutionary War marked the nadir of Tuscarora fortunes. Politically dispersed, landless, decimated in numbers, they had lost many of the customs and traditions of their forefathers without taking over a functional core of European-American culture. They had almost abandoned their own horticultural economy; even their ancient religious observances seem to have been largely forgotten. The depressed condition of the Iroquois (including the Tuscarora) in 1796 was described by Thomas Wistar,

clerk of the Friends' Committee for the gradual civilization of the Indian natives:

. . . when the committee commenced its labors, scarcely a trace of civilization was discernable among the aborigines. From the erratic and uncertain pursuits of the chase, they gleaned a scanty and hard-earned subsistence; often pinched with hunger, and miserably clad, while a rude and comfortless cabin formed their only and inadequate shelter against the violence of the elements and the vicissitudes of the seasons. [Society of Friends, 1838.]

The next two generations of the Tuscarora on the Niagara Frontier (who henceforth will be our main concern) saw a cultural revolution which tended in some respects to make the Indians live like white people. Presbyterian and Baptist mission-churches were established; a public school was built; the Temperance Society (a mutual-improvement group) was organized. During the War of 1812 (in which the Tuscarora fought for the United States) the old village of log cabins on the northwest corner of the reserve was burned; and when the refugees trickled back, they built new homes scattered about the reserve, close to the cornfields. These new homes were, as often as not, frame dwellings in European-American style. Orchards were laid out; horses, cattle, and swine were kept. In the economic sphere, Tuscarora became a "White" rural community within the space of two generations—an achievement in cultural metamorphosis of no mean proportions. In the satisfied words of the Friends' Committee, the habitations in caves, flimsy shacks, and bark cabins had by 1865 been replaced with—

comfortable frame or log houses, often two storied, with window shutters, and some of them painted, with the yards neatly inclosed; suitable furniture has been introduced where before there was little or none—meals are regularly and decently cooked and served up, and disgusting filth of person and dwelling has disappeared, while food and clothing are procured by their own industry. Many read and write and understand other elementary branches of [European] learning, and some of both sexes have taught with credit schools in the neighborhoods where they reside, at which white as well as Indian children are educated. [Society of Friends, 1866.]

The next 80 years—roughly from 1865 to 1948—saw the consolidation of the economic adjustment so successfully made. Further social integration with the surrounding Whites has been necessary. This has accelerated the decline of the native language and its progressive replacement by English; it has also tended to atomize Tuscarora society by breaking down such centripetal interests as the lineage and kinship usages, offering them no function except within the geographical boundaries of the reserve. Few aboriginal institutions have remained, except the sibs and the Chiefs' Council; the Tuscarora language is now spoken by preference only by the older people, and scarcely at all by the youngsters; and, with the rise of industry around

Niagara Falls, even the agricultural pattern is being broken up by the daily commuting of Indian labor to work for local White industrial concerns.

But these observations should not be taken to imply any more than the fact that the Tuscarora Indians have adapted their subsistence techniques, and relevant social order, to new economic and political circumstances. In areas of culture not immediately affected by changes in the economic and political environment, traits of presumably great antiquity may be found thriving cheerfully in their new soil. The socialization techniques of today correspond in a number of general features, not to surrounding White tradition, but to patterns recorded for Tuscarora and Iroquois in general in the early Contact periods. The mythology survives, or parts of it, at least, in both Tuscarora and English versions, and the latter are known to the youngest generation, children of 3 and 4 years of age being able to repeat in English ghost and witch stories already recorded in Tuscarora from their elders. Herbal remedies, handed down in family tradition from the remote past, are known to professional herbalists (of whom the writer's host, Mr. Daniel Smith, was one) of considerable local distinction. Basic ethical values—attitudes toward sex, marriage, communal responsibility, dissipation, etc.—are suggestive of ancient tradition. The Tuscarora have been able to preserve, without undue damage, many of the more intimate aspects of their culture, while actively revamping virtually the entire institutional superstructure so as to conform with the requirements of life in a White economy.

A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE TUSCARORA INDIANS

The writer is not well enough acquainted with the Iroquois communities other than Tuscarora to be able to undertake a close analysis of all present varieties of Iroquoian culture. In New York State, there are six reservations to be considered: Allegany Seneca (near Salamanca), Cattaraugus Seneca (near Gowanda), Onondaga (near Syracuse), St. Regis Mohawk (along the St. Lawrence), Tonawanda Seneca (near Buffalo), and Tuscarora (near Niagara Falls). The writer has visited briefly all these reserves with the exception of St. Regis. He has also briefly visited on several occasions the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. These seven reservations are those which have been most often visited by ethnologists, and comparisons are made with these seven communities in mind.

Insofar as housing, tools, and equipment are concerned, Tuscarora probably has less of an aboriginal nature to show than any of the other six mentioned reservations. The tools and equipment for living are largely "White" on all reserves, but the process has gone farther at

Tuscarora, apparently, than anywhere else. For instance, of approximately 150 habitable dwellings (not all of which are in present use) on the reserve, only 2 are aboriginal in design—2 bark houses erected for show purposes to attract sightseers—and 1 of these has fallen into ruin. Of these 150 possible dwellings, only 7 are log houses (log houses being the type of structure favored after 1800, following the decline of the bark house), of which 5 are occupied; 2 of these 5 are fitted with electricity. Most families have electricity, cars, and radios; many have telephones, electric refrigerators, and some even have television now. While various families possess objects genuinely aboriginal in design which have sentimental value as symbols of an Indian heritage, such as weathered old wooden corn pounders and mortars, baskets, spoons, war clubs, etc., the only object which the writer knows to be of ancient design, that is still used for practical (not show or ceremonial) purposes, is the leicester, a fish spear. Undoubtedly there are others, but the difficutly of observing them is partly a function of their rarity.

The other reservations (with the exception of Allegany Seneca) which the writer has seen, have many more log houses, and fewer of the gadgets of White culture. The difference, however, is one of degree rather than tendency, and the extremity of material acculturation displayed by the Tuscarora may be in part a function of the relative smallness of their reserve (10 square miles), the slightness of its population (about 600), and the proximity of White commercial centers (particularly Niagara Falls and Buffalo).

In regard to social organization, however, it would be somewhat difficult to conclude that the Tuscarora are more acculturated. Although a "rule of residence" is not formally stated by the people, in 41 (53 percent) of a sample of 78 of the marriages within the last generation, residence was matrilocal during the first year or two of marriage; if residence changed after that time, it was to neolocal residence. In 22 (28 percent) of the cases it was patrilocal during the first year or two of marriage, changing sometimes to neolocal thereafter. In 15 cases (19 percent) residence from the outset was neolocal. In respect to residence, therefore, it would seem that the Tuscarora maintain the hypothetical ancient matrilocal rule more consistently than, for instance, the Allegany Seneca (Fenton, 1951).

The sib system is intact and still controls marriages effectively. The writer knows of only two intrasib marriages involving people presently living on the reserve. As everywhere among the Iroquois, the sibs are matrilineal; as everywhere, a "clan [sib] mother" is recognized. At Tuscarora this clan mother, in standard Iroquoian fashion, chooses a council chief and a warrior chief to represent the sib in the national council. These chiefs still retain the titles and some of

the political prerogatives which they presumably had in pre-Contact days. On some of the other Iroquois reserves, however, the old quasi-hereditary council of chiefs appointed by clan mothers is defunct. At Six Nations and at Caughnawaga, for instance, an elective council has been recognized by the Canadian Government (although the extent of popular support is believed to be small). An elective system of councilors was adopted by the Indians themselves at Allegany and Cattaraugus. In line with apparently standard Iroquoian tradition, the Tuscarora women play certain authority-roles as determiners of social events; but the writer has an impression, gained from conversation with A. F. Brown, that feminine authority is more directly exercised at Onondaga, at least, than at Tuscarora. And in common with other Iroquois reserves, marital relationships at Tuscarora are brittle, whether or not sanctioned by a Christian marriage ceremony. At Tuscarora, most marriages are church marriages; at Allegany and at Cattaraugus, on the other hand, at least in the "pagan" areas, marriage is often a private agreement—the so-called "marriage by Indian custom." On the whole, the social structure at Tuscarora would not seem to be essentially very different from that on the other reserves, although, of course, particular institutions vary.

The incidence and character of herbalism and witchcraft at Tuscarora are like those on the other reserves.

The writer has the impression that at Tuscarora the Indian language is less freely used than on other reservations; but he would not hazard a more definite statement. Certainly at Tuscarora there are no more than a handful of old people who do not speak good English; and there are no more than a handful of children who speak good Tuscarora (if there are any children at all who speak it).

The most conspicuous difference, however, is religious. There are no "pagan" Tuscaroras. The missionary Handsome Lake never reached Tuscarora (although he came to nearby Tonawanda) and there is not, and never has been, a Handsome Lake Longhouse there. Most of the people are members of the Baptist congregation, which meets at the well-kept Baptist church on the reservation. On all the other six reserves, however, there are some "pagans" (followers of the "Old Way" of Handsome Lake), and on some of those other reserves the Old Way is the dominant faith: Allegany, Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, Onondaga.

In general summary of this admittedly sketchy treatment of the present-day situation, it might be said that all of the reservations are, economically and technologically, and to some extent socially (in settlement pattern, for instance), simply local varieties of the prevailing rural White culture of New York, Ontario, and Quebec, and some of the local differences (as, for example, in job preferences) are

functions of interareal differences in the White culture itself. Tuscarora doubtless approximates the surrounding White technology more closely than any of the other reserves with the possible exception of Allegany. Socially, however, Tuscarora is not notably less Indian than the other reservations; indeed, its clan-and-council system seems to have more vitality than have some others. In the matter of religion lies the major difference: the Tuscarora are all Christian, while the other communities all have a "pagan" Longhouse.

The effort to compare the aboriginal (pre-Contact) culture of the Tuscarora in North Carolina with the aboriginal culture of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca in New York presents knotty difficulties in approach. Various sources and authorities have dealt with the common patterns of the ancient New York Iroquois Indian culture, but those treatments (through no fault of their authors) of necessity could not be based on systematic and careful reconstruction of each of the aboriginal cultures of the five Iroquois tribes, so that generalizations do not have very extensive empirical evidence. As was mentioned previously, at the present time, Dr. Speck and Dr. Fenton are organizing work in comparative Iroquoian studies (including historical reconstructions), so that the need is in some way being met. Various general summaries of pan-Iroquoian culture have appeared, however, headed by Lewis H. Morgan's League of the Hodenosaunee, or Iroquois (1851) (which was based on nineteenth-century Seneca data) and including sketches by A. Goldenweiser (1922), G. P. Murdock (1934), B. H. Quain (1937), F. G. Speck (1945), and others. These general descriptions may be used, although they are no doubt deficient insofar as careful statements of cultural differentiation are not, and could not, be made. Thus an initial problem arises: granted that one could reconstruct North Carolina Tuscarora culture, with what should one compare it? With Seneca (described by Morgan and Fenton); with Mohawk (described by Mary Rowell Carse, 1949); or with the unsteady generalizations already mentioned?

A second group of problems clusters about efforts to reconstruct the old way of life. Major early sources are Lawson's (1714) and de Graffenried's (ca. 1713) accounts; these describe the Tuscarora in situ. But unfortunately Lawson does not always make clear what tribe he is talking about, so that a statement may in some cases apply to any or all of several Siouan, Algonkian, and Iroquoian tribes; and de Graffenried's data are extremely fragmentary. The use of modern informants in New York as providers of memories of the old days must be very cautious because the present-day Tuscarora reserve shelters many individuals who are technically Tuscarora but half or more of whose ancestry is alien—either white or non-Tuscarora Indian.

For instance, one large lineage of the Beaver Clan are called "Shawnee Beavers." The Shawnee Beavers are supposed to be descendants of adopted Shawnee Indians. Whether these "Shawnees" were Ohio and Susquehanna River Shawnee, or were the Sawanees (Chowan) of Albemarle Sound, is not clear. At any rate, they represent a confusing element, since they joined the tribe during its migration northward. Further confusion is conferred by known Tuscarora residence with the Onondaga and Oneida on their way north. At the present time, about 50 people on the Tuscarora Reserve are technically recognized as Onondaga, although their maternal great-great-grandmother, several generations ago, came to the reservation before 1812. But approximately half of these women's descendants (through the male line) are "Tuscarora," as are half of the descendants of any foreign woman married to a Tuscarora man. Likewise, many foreign men married Tuscarora women. These last cases are especially confusing because their descendants are all "Tuscarora." Hence, even if one had good genealogies reaching back several generations, it would be difficult to know whether one's informant was giving a statement from Tuscarora tradition, or Seneca, or Onondaga, or Oneida, or Shawnee, or whatever. (This is doubtless true of any community anywhere; but knowing the universality of the problem does not solve it.)

In the face of all these difficulties, it would be a tedious enterprise to try to reconstruct Tuscarora culture in its pristine, pre-Contact form. Some generalities can be attempted, however, from even a cursory glance at a sample of observations.

One feature which the Tuscarora seems to have always (i. e., since earliest knowledge of them) shared with all the other Iroquoian tribes is the matriliny-clan-chief's council complex. There is no reason to think that this is a late accretion, since, for instance, the chiefs' titles today are the same as are found in eighteenth-century colonial documents. The "chief sachem" of the Tuscarora in 1758 was called "Sequareesoro," for example (Johnson Papers, vol. 2, p. 777); at the present time the council chief of the Turtle Clan is sakwarithrä. The names of the Tuscarora clans are also common Iroquoian. The Tuscarora have Bear, Turtle, Beaver, Wolf, Sand Turtle, Snipe, and Eel. Bear, Turtle, and Wolf are universal Iroquoian, and each of the others is known in at least one other Iroquoian tribe. From Lawson and de Graffenried we know that the Tuscarora had permanent towns, and raised corn and other vegetables, again like the northerly Iroquois. From them, too, we learn that they had a well-developed military tradition. In distinction from the Algonkian tribes of the northeast, the northerly Iroquois did not use the family hunting territory system (cf. Speck and Eiseley, 1939); the Tuscarora in North Carolina, to judge from Lawson's account, and from the present-day

institution of "national lands," likewise regarded nonagricultural land as national property. At the present time the Tuscarora hold an annual, national New Year's festival—in the church, of course. A midwinter ceremony is an old and characteristic Iroquoian trait. Other festivals, of a more or less Christian character—the "National Picnic" in July, in particular—may represent survivals of the spring-summer-fall cycle of agricultural ceremonies common to the rest of the Iroquois. Several items of material culture observed on the Tuscarora Reserve—old wooden corn mortars, baskets, war clubs, and cradleboards—seem to be made after the general Iroquoian style. The myths and tales collected by J. N. B. Hewitt about 1880 are characteristically northern in tone.[9]

There are, however, certain notable differences. One of the most conspicuous absences, among the Tuscarora, of a diagnostic northern Iroquoian trait is the masking complex. Apparently the famous Society of Faces never existed on the Tuscarora Reserve, and its characteristically styled wooden masks were never made. A few masks collected at Tuscarora by Dr. F. G. Speck are evidently bizarre copies, with extraneous elements (e. g., horns) added which would be taboo on a proper False Face (pl. 1). (Horned masks are said to have been invented ca. 1900 by Austin Jacobs at Cattaraugus, some 50 miles from Tuscarora) (Fenton, 1941, p. 410). In the writer's own inquiries, he has received consistent denials and negative responses to questions probing for evidences of the usual Iroquoian masked-medicine-society complex. This accords very well with Fenton's information regarding the history of the societies in the northern tribes. He concluded that the masked-medicine-societies were probably introduced among the northern-dwelling Iroquois some time in the seventeenth century, at a time when the Tuscarora were in North Carolina (Fenton, 1941 b, p. 416). On the other hand, the present-day Tuscarora mythology includes tales about the two orders of supernaturals who in other tribal rituals are associated with the masks: the Evil Twin, and the potentially malevolent forest sprites (whom the Tuscarora call "False Faces"). De Graffenried also mentions "idols" representing the Good Spirit and his evil brother, but he does not describe any masks (De Graffenried, ca. 1713, p. 278).

Another difference seems to lie in the hunting practices. In North Carolina, apparently, in winter, whole villages moved en masse to special hunting towns which contained as many as 500 inhabitants (Lawson, 1714, p. 59). The Five Nations pattern seems to have been

[9] Personal communication from Dr. F. G. Speck. The Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, kindly allowed the writer to have copies made of these texts, which have not been printed. One of these transcripts is now in the custody of the Library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia.

TUSCARORA MASK ("FALSE FACE").
(Reproduced by courtesy of Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.)

for family parties to move out into the hunting territory, on their own, but the whole village did not remove as a unit.

The writer could find no evidence of moieties either functional or remembered, at Tuscarora, although moieties are a frequent Iroquoian feature. (It is interesting that among the other communities moiety tendencies are weakest among the Mohawk and Oneida, who also bear the closest linguistic resemblance to Tuscarora.)[10] This, however, might possibly be explained away on the basis of the decline at Tuscarora of the aboriginal religious system (whatever that may have been), since northerly Iroquoian moieties are associated particularly with ceremonial functions.

In fine, it is difficult to discover major institutions (excepting the masked-medicine-society complex and moieties) which are absent at Tuscarora but present in some form in the other Iroquoian groups; and apparently there is no major institution which the Tuscarora had and their northern cousins did not. Emphasis lies on the qualifying adjective "major." There certainly were and are innumerable local differences of a minor nature, such as differences in pottery style, mythology, folklore, etc. This conclusion agrees with Kroeber's feeling that among the Tuscarora there was "a northward outlook in the native culture—a sense of community along the Atlantic slope rather than with the Southeastern area" (Kroeber, 1939, p. 94). It is not to be denied that the village-horticulture-ceremonial pattern of the Tuscarora is basically Southeastern, but so it is among the other Iroquoian peoples. Tuscarora culture is Iroquoian first of all, and Southeastern only insofar as Iroquoian culture in general possesses Southeastern elements.

The tentative conclusion which we have reached is in agreement with the present sentiments of the Iroquois themselves. Several informants have told the writer that the Tuscarora tradition is that they migrated to Carolina from the Northeast (the area of northern New York) not many generations before White contact, and that they were in familiar country when they returned in the eighteenth century. Fenton says in this connection (referring apparently to a period about 1675):

> The tradition that the Tuscarora had formerly been part of the Oneida Iroquois and had separated from them suggests the possibility that the Tuscarora had gone but recently into the tidewater country of North Carolina. [Fenton, 1940, p. 218.]

On linguistic grounds, furthermore, Dr. Floyd Lounsbury has remarked[11] that although the Tuscarora language is considerably different in some fundamental respects from the other Iroquoian tongues, it is still to be classified as a northern Iroquoian language with its

[10] Personal communication from Dr. Floyd Lounsbury.
[11] In conversation, October 1948.

greatest resemblances to Mohawk and Oneida; and furthermore, that the presence of certain loan words indicates that geographical separation (as distinct from linguistic differentiation) of a major nature probably did not take place more than a few hundred years before Columbus. The cultural similarity which has been indicated thus may reflect a relatively late migration of the Tuscarora into the South, after a previous long sojourn in the neighborhood of the other northern Iroquoian tribes, particularly the Mohawk and Oneida, during the period of which association the major outlines of Iroquoian culture had already been realized.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF TUSCARORA LIFE IN 1949[12]

The world of the Tuscarora Indians exists in two categories: "on the reserve" and "off the reserve." The 6,249 acres of the reservation in western New York (not quite 10 square miles) are a home; the rest of the universe is "outside," arranged in roughly concentric circles of diminishing familiarity as one travels away from the reserve. Other Iroquois reservations are little enclaves of hominess, which lie, in the broadening circles of unfamiliarity, like small peaks below the mountain among the contour lines of a topographic map. Within the reserve, the houses and "the people," the fertile land, the hot summers and icy winters, the sun and rain, the plants and fauna, are meaningful categories; outside, meaningful things are cities, factories, "the Falls," bars, roads, "white folks."

The land of the Tuscarora Reserve is a rough rectangle of fertile loam, stretching along the edge of the precipitous Niagara escarpment, and for some distance plunging down the escarpment in a wilderness of timber, rocks, and trickling springs. The thin strip of soil which lies on the slope of the escarpment is economically useless, but is important because of its association with various occult traditions: here is the rock on the very edge of the cliff, where Tarachiawakon, the culture hero, left his footprints in stone at the beginning of the world; somewhere at the western end is a buried treasure which many have looked for but none have found; on the very brink is an ancient burial ground, where the victims of a legendary battle died and were interred.

The secular land, on the plateau, is a gently rolling plain, laid out in irregular fields, where such crops as berries, corn, beans, wheat, hay, and apples are grown. The fields are divided by hedgerows and are usually 2 to 4 acres in area. Some of the fields now are lying fallow because the younger men take jobs in nearby industries off the reservation, commuting to work daily. These fallow fields are growing

[12] The following impressionistic sketch of Tuscarora life has been designed to provide data which will be significant in relation to the later description of the modal personality structure, as drawn from the Rorschach data.

up in weeds and brush. The privately owned farming land, with the adjacent houses, barns, and sheds, is to be distinguished from the "national lands," which are unexploited tracts owned by the Tuscarora Nation and administered by the chiefs' council. Among the national lands is "the swamp," a tract of tangled timber and underbrush covering perhaps a square mile on the southern edge of the reserve. "The swamp," in which game including deer is hunted, is regarded as primeval forest, as an almost impassable jungle; and like the escarpment slope, is invested with occult stories of ghosts and skeletons and supernatural beings.

Thus the Tuscarora society lives and operates on a long, narrow strip of farming land running east and west through the reserve, flanked on either side by the forest which harbors the supernaturals and the game. Within this strip is a network of automobile roads with the dwellings scattered irregularly along them, the grocery store, the gas stations, refreshment stands, churches, gymnasium, primary school, council house: the material apparatus of Tuscarora culture. But on the edges of the cultivated strip lies always the dark forest. Thus, even today, despite electric lights and telephones, the Tuscarora live psychologically in a clearing in the forest, outside of which it is dangerous to stray. Home is in the clearing; beyond the clearing is "national land," of which the individual makes no regular use, the haunt of ghosts and witches and outlaws.

The environmental category "the swamp" merges into the category of "off the reservation." One goes into the swamp to hunt the game—rabbit, squirrel, even deer—known to be lurking there; to feel the thrill of danger; to find potent herbs; to win social acclaim for clearing a new field for farming (which then is no longer "national land"); to escape from enemies. "Off the reserve" is like the forest. One goes into it to earn money; for the "excitement" of frequenting the "Indian hangouts" in the cities; to acquire special powers by virtue of education, both religious and lay; for the thrill of conquest in sports, war, love; to escape difficult social situations. The reserve, and especially the clearing in the reserve, always remains "home," and old men often return from the outside to die in the clearing.

The city of Niagara Falls, N. Y., is only about 4 miles southwest of the southwestern corner of the reserve; another half-hour's ride to the south of "the Falls" is Buffalo. Small White communities dot the countryside around the reserve: old Lewiston, on the Niagara River, where there are doctors and eating and drinking places; Colonial Village, where more recent German immigrants have settled; Sanborn and Pekin, little country towns; and Lockport, the county seat.

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Power plants and factories, airports, theaters, bars, roads, five-and-dime stores, and thousand upon thousand of white men's houses litter this outside world, through which the Tuscarora moves, sometimes warily and sometimes daringly, in predatory search of the satisfactions which the clearing does not—and never did—afford.

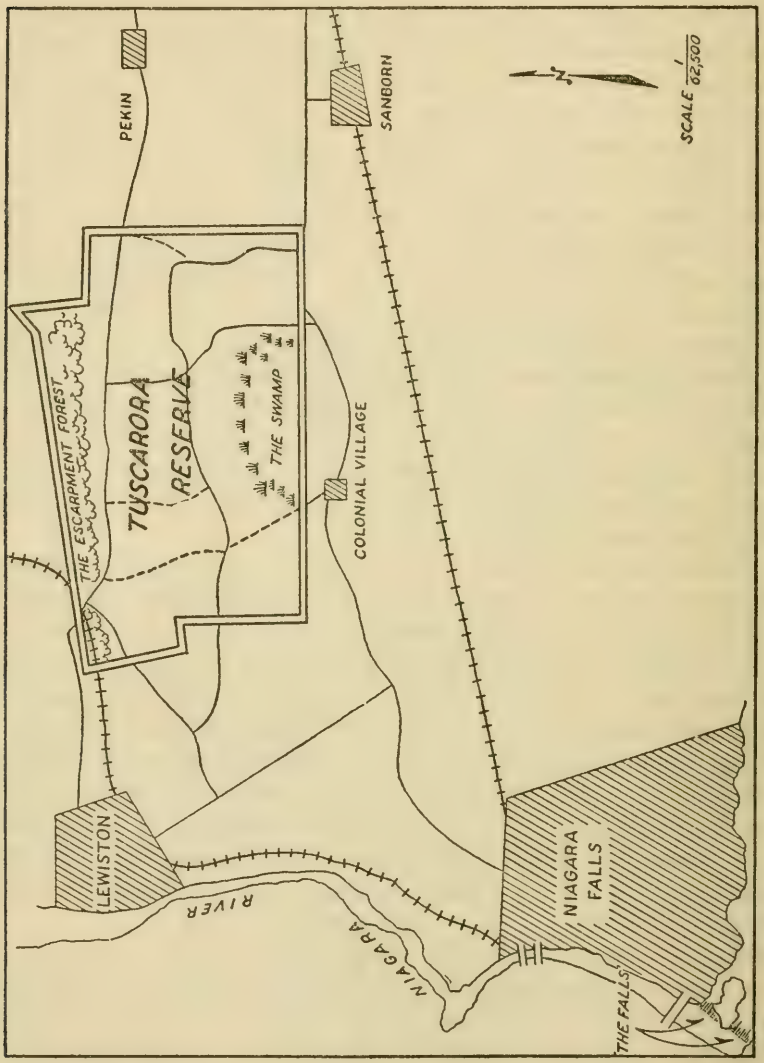

FIGURE 2.—Map of the Tuscarora Reservation and surrounding country.

While the clearing-and-forest dichotomy is meaningful both to men and to women, it is the men primarily who exploit the forest—who hunt, who take the jobs in high steel, who serve hitches in the army, who negotiate with the Whites at Albany and Washington. The

women, on the other hand, are more bound to the clearing, where they cook, raise children, and keep house. Women, indeed, do often venture out of the clearing for work and for excitement, but they do not travel so far and return more quickly, and usually are escorted by a man. Thus the forest is, by and large, the man's world; the clearing, that of the woman.

The possibility is alluring of viewing the clearing-and-forest dichotomy historically. It seems likely that in aboriginal times the same division of the world-space would be made, perhaps even more sharply: the clearing as the locus of the permanent agricultural settlement, with its village and surrounding cornfields; and the forest and swamp, as largely inhabited by animals, supernaturals, and human enemies. In the old days, as today, the men were the wanderers: the warriors, the hunters, fur traders, ambassadors; and while the men regularly assisted the women in the planting season, the women were probably the tenders of the fields, and were certainly the housekeepers and guardians of the children. This general organization of the world-space, and man's relation to it, seems also to have been true of the other Iroquoians.

The inhabitants of this outer world, the white people, are viewed as beings of another order. They are like the false faces and rolling heads, the dwarfs and ghosts which people the forest: neither inferior nor superior, but inherently different. With them one may establish pleasant relationships, to be sure; it is important to do so, in order to obtain access to the pleasures which this other world affords. But they have different values, which the Tuscarora knows he does not share; and among these values is a mischievous malice which makes them untrustworthy. They must be treated well, but it is dangerous to become too intimate. This danger is not made less imminent by the tendency of the Tuscarora themselves, realizing the alternaturals' (i. e., the beings of alien nature—the supernaturals and the Whites) power of affording and withholding satisfactions, to throw themselves at the feet of the strange people, clamoring to be succored.

The behavioral environment of the Tuscarora—the world they live in, as they perceive it—is thus to be understood by a sort of spiritual geography. Home is the clearing on the reserve; here is the apparatus which is under immediate control, the people whom one can, in some measure, manipulate and depend upon, the familiar satisfactions. Outside of the clearing is the forest: the real forest, in the swamp and the escarpment slope, and the symbolic forest, in the white man's world. The forest is inhabited by alternatural beings, who control access to the more exotic satisfactions which the forest offers, and who make the forest a dangerous and exciting place. Within this forest

the Tuscarora may roam, if he is careful, and return laden with loot. But the forest remains dark and limitless and uncontrollable.

The problem is inherently without solution; home is in the clearing, but the clearing does not offer enough; and the forest, which has hidden within it the withheld satisfactions, is beyond man's control.

The satisfactions which the Tuscarora Indians seek from life are not entirely the same as those of the white people who surround them. The white people, for instance, by and large want "success" more keenly than the Indians do. "Success" means, in a practical sense, the collection and display of symbols of wealth: a fine well-kept house, a new and luxurious car, stylish clothes, "classy" furnishings, ostentatious entertainment, a well-kept and well-equipped place of business at farm, office, or factory. It may also mean simply having had conspicuous good fortune in competition, be it economic, academic, artistic, athletic, or whatnot; but since the competition is usually for economic rewards, the economic rationale is the prevailing one. Thus the white people are guided by the ideal of progress: personal progress up the socioeconomic ladder, and (personal ambition projected onto their whole society) the progress of civilization as measured, once again, by bigger and better refrigerators, cars, houses, bridges, factories, and so forth.

Much of the white man's gadgetry is wanted by the Indians, either for its utilitarian efficiency or for its display value or both. But these wants are not girded, and systematized, and regimented by the ego-ideal of success. A house is a place to live in, and if it can be kept warm and dry and provided with the needful complement of tables, chairs, and beds, further improvements are for idle moments. Not that an Indian, momentarily inspired by a white man's example, may not add to his two-room shack a pair of bright red shutters!—but this is mere casual ornament, not a striving to keep up to an inflexible level of achievement.

The physical tools of Tuscarora material culture do not need detailed description. Any mail-order catalog will serve as an inventory. Tuscarora furniture, clothes, tools, housing, transportation, toys, and so on, right down the list, are indistinguishable from those of the surrounding white people. The few old wooden corn pounders and baskets and war clubs to be spied in dark corners here and there are about as significant in the life of the Indians as spinning wheels and powder horns are to white people. They are antiques and nothing more, valued as symbols of a glorious past—and as a source of ready cash, for white men pay high prices for Indian antiques.

The Tuscarora are not a retentive people. They do not cling desperately to objects, hoarding their property as a miser hoards gold. They do not spend their lives gradually surrounding themselves with

the physical products of their labor, in order to die at last in state in an ornate "dump" (as the whites, in humorous self-awareness, denote their elaborate houses). The Tuscarora, rather, are consumers. They acquire, use, and discard the remnants.

Inasmuch as they no longer make any effort to maintain the "Indian" standard of living, the Tuscarora, in order to acquire from the white people the White food and goods which the Indians consume, must give other goods and services to the Whites. Formerly, indeed, much of their food at least was grown on the reservation farms. Today, however, practically none of the families subsist even in large part on home-grown foods. Berry patches, cornfields, orchards, and vegetable gardens provide a measure of food for some in the summertime; chickens, pigs, and cows eke out the winter larder. But the bulk of the food is bought in grocery stores, either the Red and White chain store (run by a white man) at the four corners in the center of the reserve, or in other chain stores in neighboring white communities. The money to buy food (and other goods) is obtained largely (except in the case of a few families who market crops or operate tourist stands) from wage work.

Wage work for Whites is the economic mainstay of the reservation. Most of the able-bodied men—10 or 12 full-time farmers excepted—work in neighboring White industries, commuting daily to their jobs, or even leaving home for weeks or years at a time to hold down high-paying jobs remote from the reservation. The preferred vocation for men is in high steel construction. The "iron-workers," as they are called, are the elite; their status would seem to be analogous to that of the "warrior" class in the old days. The danger of this work on high steel, the traveling it entails, and the good pay, make it a proud profession. In competition with the Whites for such jobs, the Indians have a widely recognized advantage: they do not suffer from that mildly phobic fear of high places which affects so many white people. The women, when they are not kept busy by household duties, also seek wage work, in domestic service, as secretaries and stenographers, and as salesgirls and waitresses. A few men and women go on from high school to college and enter professions—the law, the ministry, social work, to mention three cases of which the writer knows.

Wages, once earned, are not "invested": that is to say, they are not regularly stored away in bank accounts, or converted into carefully husbanded wealth symbols such as cars, houses, and furniture. Rather, they are spent on things immediately needful: good food, entertainment, travel, liquor, clothes, gifts, second-hand automobiles, flimsy houses, and radios. Certain white men, knowing the readiness with which Indians spend money, deliberately cater to an Indian trade, so that there are certain stores, restaurants, insurance companies, bars,

and so on, which extend credit to Indians, encourage their patronage, and, if necessary, intercede with the law for them. The Indians seek out these places and persons from whom to make their purchases. Perhaps the most conspicuous example is the system of "Indian hangouts" in the cities: bars and restaurants whose custom is largely Indian, even though no real color line exists and Whites are perfectly free to enter. In view of the somewhat equivocal legal status of the Indians in New York State, these places are in a special position. According to law, a white man cannot sell liquor to an Indian. This law is not ordinarily enforced; but "Indian hangouts" are under constant police observation. (The law exists chiefly as a threat against Whites who might try to set up dingy bars on the edges of the reserves.) The proprietor usually accepts some responsibility for keeping "his Indians" out of trouble by breaking up fights, keeping enemies apart, lending money, threatening underworld violence against obstinate disturbers of the peace. The Indians, in turn, usually respect the proprietor's authority, realizing that in the liquor trade he is standing between them and police action.

Provision of various social services which are necessary to maintain the Indian standard of living on a par with the White, but which are not afforded by the structure of their society, is made by the State of New York. The Federal Government has not in recent years played a very active role in the Tuscarora Reserve. The State provides schools, builds roads (macadam), and, through county welfare offices, offers medical care and advice to the sick, and food to the indigent. These services are theoretically of the same quality as those extended to Whites in similar circumstances, even though the White population contributes much more tax money for their support (the Indians pay no property taxes on their land).

On the whole, therefore, while the material culture of the Tuscarora is superficially indistinguishable in kind (though not in richness) from that of the surrounding Whites, the symbolic values which give it meaning, and the social structure which it supports, are radically different.[12a]

[12a] This, of course, is a gross over-simplification of a very complex relationship. In their social contacts with Whites, the writer's impression is that the Indians interact most regularly with Whites who would, if classified, approximate the upper-lower and lower-middle categories in Warner's scheme, even though very often the economic status of the Indian is conspicuously lower. The above comparisons of the economic status of Indians and Whites are therefore made with a particular kind of Whites in mind; a group who, in spite of including a wide range of economic levels, and in spite of being generally of higher economic status than the Indians, are the Whites with whom the Indians associate. Indians do not mix with Negroes in Niagara Falls and Buffalo, considering themselves to be superior to them. There are so many class, occupational, rural-urban, and ethnic distinctions in White society surrounding the reservation, that an adequate analysis of the whole relationship of the Tuscarora to White society would demand a book in itself.

To the stranger who comes from outside, the pattern of social relationships of the Tuscarora seems to be at once familiar and distinctive. There are, as among white people, nuclear (and sometimes extended) families living in houses, and a community organization with a local government; there are work gangs; there are friendly cliques and hostile factions and so on. But somehow the quality of the relationships among people who belong to these various institutions is difficult for him to understand. It is like a well-known melody, being played in a new arrangement—and at the same time, he feels, slightly off key.

With more acquaintance, it becomes possible for the visitor to analyze this vague sense of discord, and to realize that it is not owing to such obvious facts as that the Indians have sibs, while white people do not; that the village chieftains are appointed by a few women holding hereditary titles, while among the Whites they are popularly elected; that Indian descent is reckoned for purposes of sib affiliation in the female line, but for family name in the male, while Whites (except for family name, which usually follows the male line) reckon it in all ways at once. Sib and village council and double descent are specific, structuralized patterns which he can imagine white people adopting—but he knows that Whites would handle them differently. The Tuscarora national council, for instance, may "resolve" that a disputed property be awarded to one party. But the occupant may refuse to vacate—and no further action by the chiefs is taken. Tongues may wag, but possession is 10 points of the law, it seems, on the Tuscarora Reserve. Among the Whites, he feels, such "laxity" would not occur. Either refusal to abide by judicial decision would be so firmly punished by law that no infraction could occur, or the absence of such sanctions would mean that no property rights could exist.

At Tuscarora, one altogether misses the intensity and the permanence of institutionalized White social relationships. It is not that the Indians are more ambivalent in their relationships. It is as if white people were bound together by very strong chains, which they could only with great difficulty break; while the Indians were bound together only by thread, which they broke readily. One feels that the Indians are not really confident of receiving much satisfaction from one another, so that alliances are lightly contracted and easily broken, and demands (which may be strongly felt) are not made lest they be rebuffed. Occasionally, of course, someone avows passionate love or passionate hate of a particular person, but such a storm of affect superficially, at least, blows itself away shortly, and no one appears to be too much impressed.

Another quality of Tuscarora interpersonal behavior which distresses the White observer, in a subtle way, is its curiously impersonal

nature. Used as he is to high-potential relationships, in which careful note is taken by ego of the pecularities of the other party, he quickly notices among Indians a bland disregard of individual differences. Social classification, as the Whites know it, is a finicky business, and the tendency always is to refine the system by adding more and more subcategories, with the final one, of course, being reached in the individual, who is always considered to be different from every other individual. (Personality psychology, which in a sense sees each person as containing within himself several different persons—e. g., id, ego, and superego—extends this subclassification ever farther.) The Indians, however, use very large categories. There is no formal class system on the reservation: everybody is "just an Indian." From the point of view of each individual there is a "better" and a "worse" element, but the criteria are religious or moral rather than socioeconomic, and the recognized gradient of social value does not set up institutional barriers to social contact. "Better" and "worse" alike go to the same church, same parties, same public entertainments, same bars; a "bad" Indian is just as likely to become a chief as a "good" one—it depends entirely on his clan mother's personal preference. White people are "all alike," i. e., untrustworthy. A man tends to see all men in one way and all women in another, with comparatively little subtlety in sizing up personal differences (age, for instance, is often completely disregarded in sexual contacts). Authority-submission gradients are so low as to be almost invisible: the clan chiefs, for example, live like everyone else and receive little more deference.

Shallowness of affect permeates the structure of social institutions. The nuclear family, for instance, which among the Tuscarora as among the Whites (and, indeed, as among all human societies) is the basic social unit, is not a tense network of permanent social relationships, to dissolve which would require great and painful effort. It is casually maintained, more from a sense of convenience than of duty, and if maintenance becomes inconvenient, it disintegrates, mother or father leaving the house to contract a new marriage, and the children either remaining with the deserted spouse, or being distributed among other families.

The seven sibs are maintained in a similarly offhand manner. The sibs have three main functions: to define descent (both as respects the sib, and also the nation); to control marriage (marriage between sib-mates being forbidden); and to govern the succession of the chieftainships (the eldest woman of the sib appointing, with the concurrence of a caucus of female sib-members, the successor to each of the two offices allotted to each sib).

The "chief's council" of 15 men (1 sib raises 1, 1 sib raises 4, and the rest, 2) meets in camera monthly, or oftener if occasion demands,

to discuss matters of national importance and to make resolutions. The resolutions depend for their execution upon the willingness of the population to cooperate. The council, which is the only governing body, refers controversial issues to a "warrior's council," a town meeting (now held in the gymnasium) where any Tuscarora may speak. Theoretically, the chief's council can act as a judicial body, trying both criminal and civil cases; but it has no power to apprehend or punish or otherwise enforce its decisions. (At the present time the State of New York, at the behest of Congress, is conscientiously assuming jurisdiction over criminal cases, much against many Indians' will. State courts are traditionally used by most Indians for the settlement of civil cases.) But in spite of the lack of indigenous coercive sanctions, the incidence of criminal acts and of civil disputes is recognized even by neighboring white people to be not significantly larger than that found in well-policed White communities.

The community itself is not a well-integrated organism comprising well-defined subunits. Schematically, it might appear that the community (acting through the chief's council) is the product of the sibs, which in turn are the product of their constituent lineages, which are built up of nuclear families. But the shallowness and inconstancy of affect subverts such a scheme. There are no formal hierarchies in Tuscarora society, and no institution has much chance of dominating others, or even of acting for long as a coherent unit, because of the schismatic tendency inherent in all social relationships. The community readily divides into two factions on any important issue; there are no mechanisms for reconciliation. Sibs split in two when they become large, lineages quarrel within themselves, and families break up. Recently there were even two competing chiefs' councils.

Nevertheless, in spite of what seems to a White man to be a remarkable inchoateness in social organization, the structure of institutions is complex enough to provide the individual with certain broad, ready-made classifications which can be applied to a variety of interpersonal relationships. Paradoxically, people who focus their likes and dislikes more intensely might be able to get along with a less complex set of institutions. The Tuscarora, who respond blandly to stereotypes, require a more discriminating series—even if it is as simple and as loose as practical necessity allows.

The principle of responding blandly to the stereotype, rather than to the unique aspects of the special situation, appears clearly in the relationship of the Tuscarora to the State of New York. "The State" is defined as both "the enemy" and "the helper." *Anything* which the State plans to do with respect to the Indians is automatically resisted. At the same time, the State is conceived as owing an enormous debt to the Indians. Therefore, extravagant claims, sometimes buttressed

by shrewd, if technical, legal arguments based on the reading of old deeds, are made against the State. The Federal Government, on the other hand, is regarded as "the father" of the Indians. The Indians, reciprocally, consider themselves to be "wards" of the Federal Government. "The Federal" can do no wrong. When Congress, for instance, in 1948 passed a bill giving the State criminal jurisdiction on the Iroquois reserves, resentment was leveled not against Washington but against the State, which was supposed to have lobbied the bill through Congress as part of an insidious plot against Indian welfare. When the affect associated with a stereotype is mild, as it usually is, no serious mistakes are made. But when, as sometimes happens, powerful affect becomes attached to an inadequate stereotype, the situation becomes embarrassing because violent action may be taken which is highly unrealistic. Both hostility and dependency longings seem to become easily attached to the stereotypes.

"The enemy" stereotype collects physical and verbal aggression; it siphons it off, so to speak, permitting it to be displaced and thereby allowing interpersonal relations within the community to remain (normally) cool and shallow. "The enemy" includes the State, lacrosse teams from other reserves, enemies of the Federal Government, Negroes, and white people as a society.

The "helper" stereotype collects dependency longings in much the same way. We have already mentioned the exaggerated attitude of dependency which the Tuscarora take toward the State and Federal Government. The "helper" stereotype may become attached to any friendly and serviceable white man (including an ethnographer), who is thereupon besieged by demands for aid and assistance which no Tuscarora would think of making on another.

The function of these two stereotypes in the emotional economy of the Tuscarora Indians is an indispensable one. They permit strong and pressing affects to be displaced onto persons outside of the social group; thus in-group relationships may remain cool and casual—free of the fear of close interpersonal contact. And we see, in their usefulness, the raison d'etre of the classificatory, stereotyped approach itself.

The symbolic world of the Tuscarora Indians is the world of fantasy and ritual; and it is in this symbolic world that many of the emotions, which are so meagerly expressed by the Indian when he is in the clearing among other people, can find vent. This second order of existence is not, of course, to be charted on a map or timed by its place in the day; it permeates the sober, daylight clearing where the business of the people is transacted, and the forest too, both the real forest and the white man's jungle civilization. But the fantasy world grows wider at night, when from the edges of the forest its

creatures venture into the clearing. In this world, so distinct from the workaday one, powerful emotion is felt and discharged—discharged not against the real people of the social world, but against phantoms, stereotypes, and dreams.

The Christian church which sits solidly in the middle of the clearing, an earnest mission to the converted heathen, has superimposed on the ancient aboriginal religion a body of new concepts and symbols, revolving around the person of God and the Savior, and stressing the intimate relationship between morality and salvation. To the Indians, stiffly dressed in their creaking Sunday clothes, who crowd, noisily gossiping, into the church on Sunday, it does not seem likely that one can ever be good enough. It is really no use trying very hard. (There are only four or five "Christians"—fully good people—on the reserve, according to one of my informants.) But by going to church, and by confessing at the annual revival meetings, the Tuscarora can secure "power" which will enable him at least to claim a minimum of divine support.

The quest for "power," which infuses the Tuscarora adaptation of Christianity, expresses itself in a less public form: witchcraft. To smiling white people, the Indians say, "Yes, we used to believe in witchcraft; but we don't any more." But witchcraft, always denied as a reality, is ever present in imagination and is a common subject of gossip. The witch is one who takes a sadistic delight in making others suffer. The slightest affront, or none at all, will inspire the witch to attack with lethal magic. Women, especially strong-minded, domineering women, are especially liable to be labeled "witch" by the community. Although they will deny the allegation, they seem to take a secret pleasure in the influence their reputation brings. Some women even believe that they are witches, and perform the rites, concoct the poison, attempt murder. Anyone may be a witch; the Indian lives in a world where the people with whom he chats in the daytime, in the flat openness of the clearing, may visit him at night with murder in their hearts.

Inasmuch as witches are usually women (of 15 reputed witches mentioned in my field notes, only 3 were men), while the official negotiators between the forest world and the people of the clearing are men, it appears that the clearing-and-forest dichotomy enters into the structure of the fantasy world as well as the "real" world (if one for convenience makes the artificial distinction). The forest and its beings can be brought into the clearing and manipulated there—as, for instance, by the hunting magic of the old days, and now by the church—safely, for human welfare, by men. For men are trained and by nature equipped to penetrate the forest, to dominate it, to use it for human good. But women, who are mysteriously debarred from the capacity

to exploit the forest, sometimes break out of their proper role and arrogate to themselves the power of the men. Women who do so are witches. They are reputed to get their power by cutting off the tails of snakes and drinking the blood. They are aggressive: they send disease, cripple, and kill.[13]

Not all aggression which one feels in oneself has to be projected, however, onto witches who, in threatening one, express in inverted form one's own sadistic urges. Much anger can be displaced onto the stereotypes: the "enemies" which were mentioned before. Team sports provide a neatly structural model of warfare for both men and women, young and old, as participants and observers; and lacrosse, the bloodiest sport in America, is the popular game. The reservation team goes out against the teams from other tribes as the warriors took to the war trail in the ancient days. Everyone knows that blood will be shed. Blood is always shed, and the more blood, the better the crowd likes it; at a really rough game, shrieking women may rush out of the stands and pummel an unpopular "enemy" player.

Thus ritualized aggression is invested with the energies, which, among the Whites, are devoted to economic competition. In the young, as they are gradually dissuaded from childish brawling, the torturing of both domestic and wild animals in play is allowed, and this merges into the economically unimportant hunting of wild game in older youth. The liking for aggressive sports and adventurous military service among the young men reflects their need to find an appropriate victim of aggression.

It would seem then that while the Tuscarora conceives of himself as a lonely being in a rejecting society and prudently avoids too close contact with people in the clearing, in the vast symbolic world (which also is hostile) he may wreak revenge for his neglect. But this is not the whole story. In this symbolic world not only are there free outlets for aggression; there are also true love, and helpfulness. The alternatural beings of the forest and the sky are not only potent with mischief; if one has "power," immeasurable blessings may be coerced from them. The man or woman with "power" can direct the alter-

[13] In a psychoanalytic mood, one might speculate that this craving for power by the women is in part stimulated by their envy of masculinity, and that in their activities as witches they are vengefully castrating their rivals. Two reputed witches whom the writer has met are aggressive, dominating women with strong economic and political ambitions. An interpretation of the domineering tendency of Iroquois women (cf. Brown, 1949, 1950) might well investigate the possibility that historical events, particularly the development of female-controlled agriculture as the economic backbone of Iroquois society, have made it possible for Iroquois women to express institutionally the revenge type of feminine castration complex. The phallic mother in Iroquois symbolism looks in many ways like a distorted copy of the phallic (on one level) masculine ideal of the ruthless hunter, stern warrior, and roving Don Juan. The writer is indebted to Mrs. Maude Hallowell for pointing out to him the importance of the power complex in the evaluation of Iroquoian data.

naturals, can make them do things for him, can appeal to them in extremity and confidently expect help. An alternatural may even become a guardian spirit who, unlike the Indian's real mother and father and the rest of the people he knows, will never desert him, will assist him in all the crises of life.

At the top of the pantheon of alternatural beings is the dual God in whom are incarnate the twin motives of love and hate which the Indian does not, in the daylight, in the clearing, allow himself to feel. The Good Twin and the Evil Twin (now God and the Devil) are the creators; the color of one is red and of the other black, and they are like the two categories of the real world, the clearing and the forest. The Good Twin is the symbol of the people of the clearing; he is the parental image, he who once created good and familiar things in life, but who is now impossibly remote and unapproachable and belongs to the ancient past. The Evil Twin is the symbol of the people of the forest and of the night, the parental image conceived in his despair by a rejected child. The Evil Twin sends disease, and misfortune, and death; he is malicious, cruel. But he controls the lives of men in almost equal balance with the Good Twin, and with "power" he can be cajoled, and tricked, and coerced to give aid and succor through the agency of his helpers.

Thus, while the Tuscarora does not admit to himself that he has anything to gain from close relations with people, in the back of his mind lurks the hope he may find a satisfying love, or failing that, revenge.

The process by which the Tuscarora Indian learns to use the culture whose outlines are adumbrated above begins at birth, and is substantially completed about the age of 16, although, of course, learning of special areas of culture continues through life. The typical end result of the process is an adult Indian whose techniques for living are those described in the foregoing pages.

In infancy (when, we are assured by most of the psychologies, the basic structure of personality is being formed) the plastic organism is carefully attended by its busy mother and proud father. They have no concern with scheduled feeding; the little Indian is nursed by his mother, or given the bottle, when he cries. Diapers are removed when they are soiled, and an occasional warm bath is hurriedly administered. The mother occasionally picks him up and sits him on her knee while she talks with visitors, or shells the peas, or does one or another of her household tasks. Normally, however, the baby is handled chiefly during the course of feeding and cleaning and keeping him warm. The father, who does not take much part in the physical care of the infant, may sit in the evening talking fondly to his child, playing with its hands, or lifting it up and putting it through

mock acrobatics. Grandparents, too, and others who happen to be in the house, will spend a few minutes now and then toying with the baby and prattling to it.

The time of weaning is governed by the mother's convenience. It may be begun at any age, from a few months to a few years, and is prepared for by introducing solid foods into the diet several months in advance. The technique recommended by mothers is to sleep in another room from the baby's, or even to leave the house for several days; the child is thus forced to abandon the breast and take prepared foods or starve. The adjustment, which is often a stormy one, is expected to be complete in about a week. Toilet training begins about the time when the child begins to walk. It is not strenuously pursued: "mistakes" evoke expressions of mild disgust and annoyance, but only seldom physical punishment. The major aim is to teach the child not to soil the house. The child is advised to visit the outhouse; but playing children wear loose-fitting diapers (without rubber covers) or pants, or no pants at all, so that if they evacuate, they will not soil themselves too generally.

Because of the variability of the ages at which the various orifice-disciplines are imposed, and because of the variety of techniques employed, it is difficult to generalize about primary learning in terms of spot-traumas and attendant "fixations." There is one feature of the early mother-child relationship, however, which is nearly universal: it is an attitude of casualness on the part of the mother, which subtly infects all relationships between her and her child. The care which she gives her offspring is good, both in a physical and an emotional sense; but it is certainly not inspired by a romantic delight in motherhood. She does not "mother" her baby in the conventional sense of the word. When she holds him, it is likely to be loosely in the circle of one arm, sitting on her knee facing away from her. He is left most of the time in his crib or carriage, where he lies passively until he becomes hungry or soiled. When he begins to cry, his mother does not hurry to his side; she takes her time. If the baby howls louder, she may remark with a smile, "Listen to that baby scolding me!" Responsibility for an infant is often no major deterrent to a new amour; if he cannot be cared for, someone can always be found to adopt a child. Children are conceived as a light duty not a privilege; as an object of care not of love, in many cases.

Thus the infant's earliest experience with the mother is excellent: he is handled and fed at every demand, has only to cry to receive attention. But the casualness of this excellent early care is an omen of later indifference. As admiration of the new infant is replaced by the mother's desire to escape the annoyance of his demands or by the necessity of caring for a new baby, excellent but casual care taper off

to adequate but impersonal care, and finally to nagging supervision. The regimen of impersonal care may begin soon after birth. By the age of walking and speech, of weaning and toilet training, the child is only an appurtenance to his mother; after the disciplines have been imposed, he is on his own.

Gradually shut out of the warm circle of his mother's arms, the child at first turns to his father, who had played with him as an infant; but the father too is now remote and unapproachable, demanding responsible adult behavior, and enforcing his own demands and those of the mother with scolding, threats, and whippings. The father now praises his child for independence and a sense of responsibility, not for "cuteness." At the same time, the child is discouraged from straying from home to find the company of other children and is expected to play and do chores around the house.

Emotional responsiveness to other people is well throttled by the time the child is old enough for school. Aggressive behavior in play cannot be stopped, but it has early been channeled into aggression against animals—dogs, cats, turtles, birds—who are not protected very carefully against the child's wrath, and against opponents in games. The boys are beginning to take an interest in lacrosse and to enjoy the fantasy world of war and crime.

School is regarded by the parents as a period of training for the child, an apprenticeship which merges insensibly into the labor of earning a living. The mother is glad to be rid of the young scholar; she now has fewer cares. For a few of the children, school is a time of scholastic competition, for most others, a chore to be gotten through as painlessly as possible. The first 4 years are spent in the primary schoolhouse on the reserve; after that, the children commute by school bus to the consolidated schools in Niagara Falls, where they mingle with the white children and feel even more keenly that they are strangers in a large world.

Sexual disciplines are not strenuous. Masturbation and homosexual, as well as heterosexual, play among the little children are verbally discouraged, but not with brutality; a latency period is not present in all children. Many of the adolescent boys are sexually initiated by the two or three promiscuous young women on the reservation who are known to be available as pickups (but not as prostitutes) to all comers. The girls also frequently acquire early sexual experience; but if they become pregnant they are severely shamed. Discretion is more valued than chastity, and marriage is regarded as an arrangement of either romantic or economic convenience rather than a moral duty.

By the age of 16, most of the young people have a familiarity with all the major institutions of their culture and can satisfy their bio-

logical needs in conformity with cultural prescriptions. Among their fellows in the clearing they move with reserve, not allowing themselves to express either hate or dependency; they are encapsulated and apparently self-sufficient. But they have also learned the special techniques which Tuscarora culture affords for the satisfaction of hostility and dependency longings: the use of liquor as a solvent of emotional barriers, sports, war, the fantasy world. They have learned that in the clearing, as at home, only the minimal satisfactions are available, and that intense interpersonal relationships are impossible; but that outside, in the forest, still exist all the things that can be longed for.

THE RORSCHACH SAMPLE

SAMPLING

Two major considerations affect the value of the 70 adult Rorschach protocols, insofar as they are to be used as data for the elucidation of group personality characteristics: sampling procedures; and administration and scoring procedures.

According to the writer's census, in July 1948 the total number of adult (16 years and older) sociological Tuscarora [14] was 352, of whom 179 were males and 173 were females. The figure 352 the writer considers to be accurate to within about 20 persons. The population was further classified according to age. Since ages were in most cases ascribed by one informant (Mina Smith), there certainly would be a large probability of an error of a few years more or less in regard to any one individual. If these errors were randomly distributed, however, no consistent bias would affect the proportions by age and sex in any one age-sex group; if the errors were consistently plus or minus, the errors would be approximately evenly distributed in the age-sex categories, again not materially affecting the distribution. The only serious likelihood of error would be in making consistently large mistakes with regard to one or several of the age-sex categories: for instance, considerably underestimating the ages of females between 40 and 50, while considerably overestimating the ages of females between 20 and 30, and thereby (perhaps) adding noticeably to the number of females in the 30 to 40 age-group. The numbers involved in the total adult population are so small, however, and the absolute numbers in the sample itself so much smaller still (so small that a difference of 20 percent from the present count of females between 30 and 40, for instance, would mean the addition or rejection of only

[14] "Sociological Tuscarora" are Indians who spent the first 6 or 7 years of their lives on the reservation, or who were born and/or raised off the reserve by a Tuscarora mother and later returned to spend a major portion of their adult lives on the reservation. Only those Indians living on or near the reserve were available for study.

one Rorschach protocol) that the possibility of such bias does not seem to threaten the validity of the sampling procedure used.

The distribution of the population among the age-sex categories having been established, the writer then calculated the number of records necessary to preserve the same proportions in the sample as had been observed in the population at large. These figures were calculated on the assumption that the sample would total 100 records and that it would include proportionate numbers in all age grades, from infancy to old age. As the work proceeded, however, it was decided to concentrate on collecting a slightly larger number of adults than was needed in the original sampling scheme, and the full proportion of preschool records was not filled. A total of 103 records were secured. Seventy-one of these came from adults (age 16 and up). One of the adult records was recorded on wire, with a somewhat different technique of administration than that which was used throughout the series; this record was excluded on the grounds that the administrative procedure would make it not strictly comparable to the others. Thus the sample of adult records available for study is 70. This sample does not strictly follow the form of the population distribution, but the deviations are not large enough, in the writer's view, seriously to bias the results. Table 1 (p. 42) presents the essential data.

The adult records thus represent a proportional sample in which the frequencies of cases in the specified sex-age categories are carefully controlled so as to correspond, in their mutual proportions, to the proportions of those categories in the whole population. The selection of individuals for inclusion in the sample was at first left almost entirely to one of the writer's informants, a person who had (along with the rest of his family) taken a Rorschach, and was willing to introduce the ethnographer and his ink-blots to possible candidates. He would be told that the records were needed to fill in certain sex-age categories. He would take the problem under advisement, suggest certain persons of the proper category he thought would "look at the cards," go with the writer to their homes, introduce him if he was not known to them, and sometimes personally persuade subjects to cooperate, explaining that he had taken the test and giving other necessary particulars. This technique was phenomenally successful; during the two summers of work only two or three persons approached in this manner refused to take Rorschachs. Most of the records were secured in this fashion. As the writer got to know more people, however, he was able in many cases to suggest the Rorschach and, when he was not refused, to give the test on his own presentation. During the second summer, in fact, several people solicited him to let them look at the cards and it became almost a minor fad, in certain circles, to have "Professor Wallace" drop by with his ink-blots.

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TABLE 1.—*The sampling of the Tuscarora population by age and sex*

Age group	Sample=70				Population=352			
	Male	Female	Number	Percent	Male	Female	Number	Percent
16–20	8	4	12	17	26	39	65	18
21–25	5	5	10	14	26	21	47	13
26–30	4	6	10	14	26	25	51	14
31–40	4	5	9	13	28	28	56	16
41–50	4	7	11	16	20	27	47	13
51–60	4	4	8	11	24	22	46	13
61–70	5	2	7	10	23	8	31	9
71	2	1	3	4	6	3	9	3
Total	36	34	70	99	179	173	352	99

The possibility of giving the series a subtle bias by this manner of selecting subjects was not ignored but could not be entirely avoided. The writer was considerably taken aback when, during the 1948 season, his guide informed him that the 30 or so adult records which he now had (about 20 of which had been selected by the guide) represented the "better element" of Tuscarora society. If it were true that there was a "worse" and a "better" element, and if the better element was what he had reached preponderantly, the sample could not be considered entirely representative. After this, an effort was made to select more cases on the writer's own responsibility. His impression, however, was that what had really happened was that his informant had chosen the people whom for various reasons he knew best and liked and respected and whom he complimented with the adjective "better." Levels of socioeconomic status on the reservation are not well structuralized; formal class lines do not exist; and, as a matter of fact, the sample includes representatives from such nebulous social strata as there are. In an informal way, an effort was maintained to get a reasonably proportional distribution for other than age and sex categories: two of the 15 council chiefs looked at the cards, three of the seven clan mothers, a few members of the lacrosse team, one alcoholic, and so on. It cannot be asserted that the sample is proportionally representative insofar as socioeconomic status, chieftainship, matronhood, lacrosse-playing, alcoholism, and a variety of other important factors are concerned; but most of the many possible categories have at least one representative. On the whole, the writer is satisfied that the present sample is really a fair representation of Tuscarora society.

The problem of bias presented by one informant's selection of a substantial proportion of the cases was further investigated, however, after the writer's return to Philadelphia. Out of the sample of 70, it was found that the informant had selected 30 (43 percent). Out of the 26 modal ("typical") records within the sample as a whole, which were regarded as defining the modal personality structure (see the following section), the informant had selected 11 (42 per-

cent). This difference was found not to be significant at the 0.01 probability level when tested by the large-sample critical ratio method. This suggests that those subjects who were selected by the informant constituted a psychological subpopulation which was indistinguishable from the total sample, and hence that his selection of cases did not bias the formulation of the modal personality structure. On the other hand, however, this technique of evaluating bias does not fully take account of the possibility that the whole sample was biased, because most (but not by any means all) of the writer's contacts were in that area of the reservation nearest to the informant's house. From his personal knowledge of the homogeneity of the reservation, the writer does not believe that any significant bias was introduced by this means either, but he cannot demonstrate its improbability statistically. A cross-validation study, in which the subjects were chosen randomly by mechanical means and were proportionately distributed geographically as well as by age and sex, would be desirable.

The size of the sample itself is a matter of some moment. A larger sample would, of course, have been better than this; this was the best procurable for the time and money. A sample of 100 records is demanded in standard Rorschach practice before a statement of what the popular and original responses are. The writer will have to go ahead to define what he regards as the popular responses on the basis of 70 records. A sample of 70 is considered "large" for statistical purposes and does not require the use of small-sample theory. From such a small population, of 352, a sample of 70 is really a fairly good size: it includes 20 percent of the total population, and since it is known to be proportional in several important respects, it would seem to be entirely adequate.

ADMINISTRATION AND SCORING

The administration of the Rorschach test has been widely discussed. While the basic administrative strategy is agreed upon, various Rorschach workers have proposed and used different tactics: some, for instance, show the subject a "trial blot" before the standard series, while others do not; some conduct the inquiry after each card has been viewed, while others leave the inquiry until after all 10 cards have been gone through and all responses recorded; and so on. Since the writer was trained under the supervision of Dr. Bruno Klopfer, the technical details of administrative procedure which were followed in the field are based on his recommendations.[15]

[15] See Klopfer and Kelley, 1946, for a summary of the Klopfer administrative, scoring, and interpretation tradition. As Klopfer recommends, the cards used were the edition printed in Bern, Switzerland, by Hans Huber, from Rorschach's original plates. One set of cards was used throughout the research (except for Miss Kerr's and my wife's work, which will be mentioned later).

The major aim, in presenting the Rorschach situation to a prospective subject, was to make him feel as much at ease as possible. All other arrangements, such as lighting, seating positions, and privacy, were in this research subordinated to this need. As described above, in almost all instances the writer had been introduced to the subject in a pleasant social setting by another Indian, and in some cases the subject was already friendly with him. Except in those few cases where the subject requested an opportunity to take the tests, the writer's request was made in the form, "One of the things I am doing here on the Tuscarora Reserve is asking people to look at a set of ink-blots which I have. People look at them and tell me what they see, and I write it down. Will you help me by looking at the cards?" The situation, and the manner in which this suggestion was delivered, made it plain that the matter was a serious one and that the writer was asking for assistance in a scientific investigation. No payment was ever offered. Frequently, the subject would ask, "Why are you showing us those ink-blots?" The writer would explain, "Ink-blots that look just like these have been shown to a lot of people in different parts of the world: on other Indian reservations, in Europe, in Asia, in America among white people. People see different kinds of things. I want to find out what the Tuscarora see so I can compare it with what people on other reservations see." This was usually enough; the subject would laugh and say hesitantly, "Well—all right." A number of people, however, were somewhat suspicious of the writer's motives. They had read magazine articles or had seen the movie Dark Mirror, and thought that the ordinary use of the ink-blot test was to "find out if you are crazy." These people felt that the writer was some agent from somewhere who was trying to prove that the Indians were all crazy, or all stupid, or in some way undesirable. These people (how many of them there were, the writer can never know) would sometimes ask further uneasy questions like, "What can you tell from this?" or "I guess you'll go back and say all the Indians are crazy," or "I know I'm nuts so I don't mind looking at 'em." To these people who obviously wanted to know something more about all this, the writer did not attempt to give some ingenious falsehood. "This test is used for a lot of purposes," he would explain. "You can use it as an intelligence test, but that's not what I am using it for. And I'm not interested in finding out whether the Indians are all crazy because I know they aren't. What I want is to find out something about the Indian outlook on life, and this test is one way of getting that information." It is a tribute to the courtesy and good faith of the writer's hosts that so many, who must have felt that "the Indian outlook on life" was a curious thing for a white man to be interested in, nevertheless swallowed their doubts and looked at the cards.

Once the subject had agreed to look at the cards, an appointment for a definite day at a definite hour was made, or else the test was administered on the spot. Most of the tests were given inside a house. Because suggestions that privacy was desirable proved to upset everyone, making the test appear to be some occult and solemn procedure which put an individual "on the spot," it was made a policy never to object if other people wished to listen and watch while a subject was looking at the cards, unless the subject himself expressed annoyance. In some cases the audience was mildly encouraged "not to bother him," or "just to leave him alone," or something else appropriate to the occasion. If someone in the audience began to kibitz, the writer would say, "Let's see what he can do by himself," or, "Your turn will come later," or in difficult cases, "Hey—How about not telling him what the answers are?" The audience never became an uncontrollable factor in the situation; and the presence and moral support of friends and relatives, certainly reduced the subject's anxieties and gave potential subjects a much more favorable impression of the test. Insisting on privacy would, in the writer's opinion, have been upsetting to subjects and thereby probably distorting to the records, as well as prejudicial to the future progress of the investigation.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the presence of listeners other than the examiner has some effect on the way in which the individual responds to the test, and that this effect shows up even in the gross scoring. Kimble tested 14 subjects with the standard, private procedure; and then retested them in a cafeteria with two or more other people present. Kimble got slightly different results on the composite (mean) profiles for the standard and social administrations: the difference of the mean number *M* was 1.64 (8.14 in the standard situation; 6.5 in the social—rather high *M* values in both cases, incidentally) and the difference in the mean number of pure *C* was 1.36 (standard, 0.71; social 2.07). These were the two notable differences. Taking those results at face value, they suggest that in social situations people give more extroverted Rorschachs than they do in dyadic situations with an examiner. Kimble's report is somewhat sparse, however, and his description of the social situation as a slightly frolicsome half hour in a cafeteria makes it questionable just how comparable the Tuscarora "audience" Rorschachs are with the "cafeteria" Rorschachs. The possibility of a mild bias in the extroversial direction will be considered later in evaluating the Rorschach results, however (Kimble, 1945).

Still another possibility of distortion is theoretically inherent in the audience situation. Ten of the records were secured from persons who had within the previous 24 hours seen and heard the Rorschach record being secured from a friend or relative. The question immediately

arises, "Did those 10 persons copy the answers given by earlier subjects?" In only one case—a wife who apparently tried to copy her husband's answers—was such an effort evident; and in this case, the effort was not very successful. The wife gave answers whose manifest content was very similar (e. g., both saw sea shells in Card VII) but the scoring of these "same" responses differed considerably in several instances, owing to different ways of handling concepts of color, texture, and movement. Their records, indeed, were sufficiently different for one to be included in the modal group while the other was excluded. This case illustrates a general point: it is very difficult to copy, or fake, a Rorschach record, because most of the scoring and interpretation is based on the presence or absence of a large number of attributes which may be inherent in the responses, but which are not such as the naive subject thinks are significant, or of which he may even be completely unaware. The examiner does not tell the subject what a "good" or "bad" response is; even the inquiry does not reveal what "good" responses are; and the subject cannot understand at all what the scoring system is. Thus, even if more than one subject did try to copy responses, the effort was so inept (even in the one, obvious case) that it is very unlikely that it significantly affected the balance of the sample.

No attention was paid to lighting during the collection of the records. Records were made by daylight in all gradations of sunlight and shadow; they were made at night by electric lights, both incandescent and fluorescent, at variable distances from the cards, and by lamplight (kerosene lamps are widely used on the reservation). Lighting no doubt changes the values of the shades and colors, but the writer does not believe that in itself it is a factor sufficient to produce observable differences in records. Klopfer remarks, "Either daylight or artificial illumination may be used, with no apparent difference in results" (Klopfer and Kelley, 1946, p. 35).

Seating arrangements likewise were not standardized. In no instance did the examiner, as is sometimes recommended, take a seat behind and to one side of the subject (so that he could see the cards, but the subject could not see the examiner writing). In most instances examiner and subject either faced each other, or sat side by side, in two chairs, sometimes with a table between; where no table was convenient (as might be the case, for example, when both examiner and subject were sitting on a davenport), the examiner wrote with a clipboard for a surface.

During the first season's work, timing was done by means of a stop watch. While this watch measured reaction times (where the chief need for split-second accuracy is felt to lie) to tenths of a second, it was a large shiny instrument, with an ominous "click" when the

plunger was pressed. Most of the subjects were disturbed by the stop watch, saying, "Oh, you want to time us, too!" or something of the sort. The second year I decided not to flaunt the stop watch, but instead to use the second hand of my wrist watch, which, while less accurate (to within about 2 seconds), was much less disturbing to the subjects. The uses of the wrist watch during the second season made that set of records less precise insofar as time is concerned, but it does not seem that any consistent bias would be given to the results; at least no bias which would be likely to affect interpretation. Klopfer's view on time recording is simply expressed. "No particular degree of exactness can be specified for time recording. The measurements may be made to the nearest 5 or even 10 seconds" (Klopfer and Kelley, 1946, pp. 37–38).

In the case of persons who gave as many as 10 or 15 responses to Card I, it was suggested, "There is no advantage in giving more than a few, say 5, responses to a card. If you want, you can cut the number of responses down to 5 or less on the rest of the cards. Otherwise the test will take a very long time." Invariably such people politely said, "All right," and proceded to give a long record anyway. In such instances, the writer suffered the agony of writing down the very long record, rather than artificially to truncate the responses to the last cards.

The recording of the test was done by the writer, in pencil, on sheets of typewriter-size ruled notebook paper, folded lengthwise to provide two columns, one for the performance proper and one for the inquiry. Shorthand would have been a great aid but since the writer did not know shorthand, he did his best to write out everything, with as many private abbreviations as possible; e. g., "Ll" for "Looks like," "w." for "with," "wmll" (an inquiry question) for "What makes it look like that?" and so forth. Sometimes a subject spoke too fast to permit writing down every word; and these people did not always respond to suggestions to slow down. In these cases there was nothing to do but get down the general drift of remarks, paying particular note to those aspects of the talk which could be scored as determinants (such as allusions to color, motion, texture, etc.) and to cryptic comments which it seemed well to consider in the inquiry. These verbose records were fortunately few; most of the subjects were rather taciturn and gave brief, sometimes monosyllabic answers: "bat," "bird," "bear."

The verbal instructions given to the subject at the start of the test were standardized to some degree. The writer would say, "What I am going to show you is a set of cards on which are printed the photographs of 10 ink-blots. The original ink-blots were made by a Swiss scientist. He made them this way." (Here the writer would fold the record paper into two columns demonstrating the manner of making

ink-blots and also dividing the sheets into performance-proper and inquiry columns.) "Thousands of copies of the original ink-blots have been made; this is one of them." (Meanwhile, of course, the writer was arranging papers, clip board, wrist watch, cards, etc., in preparation for the test). "Different people see different things on these cards. Did you ever play a parlor game where you guess what the ink-blots look like? Or look at clouds and imagine what they could be? That's what this is. I hand you a card and you look at it and then you tell me what it looks like to you, what you can see in it. This is not like a test at school; there are no right answers and no wrong answers. Now—" (if no questions were forthcoming) "—here is the first card." The card was handed to the subject, and usually the subject would gaze at it, perhaps turn the card around, give one or more responses, and then either hand the card back or lay it down. Further instructions were given as required: "Hand the card back to me when you are finished with it," for subjects who did not know how to let go of the cards; "You can turn them any way you like," for subjects who asked whether the cards could be turned around from the standard position in which they had been handed to them; "Going through the cards fast doesn't give you a better score; we keep time because people just naturally take different times to give their answers," to people who worried about the watch.

The test was divided into three phases, as recommended by Klopfer: performance proper, in which the subject gives responses, without comment or question by the examiner, to all the cards; inquiry, in which the examiner asks questions to uncover the scorable elements in a response; and testing-the-limits, in which the examiner suggests that the subject perform certain operations with the cards, and observes the performance, usually in order to estimate the subject's capacity for some type of response which has appeared only minimally during the performance proper and the inquiry. In all cases performance proper and inquiry were separated. In the case of two long records this meant the loss of several responses which the subject could not remember. In order to minimize this inefficiency, in long records the writer scored the location of each response as it was given, if he was in a position to see the cards easily and if the subject could be persuaded to point it out. The testing-the-limits period was omitted in about half the cases because the subject was becoming restless, had business to attend to, and obviously wanted to be off. While a testing-the-limits period is invaluable as a prognostic indicator in clinical use, it is not felt that in this sort of comparative group work its loss is as serious as the possibility of annoying subjects with too persistent questions.

Of the 70 adult records, 58 were collected by the writer. Eleven were administered by the writer's wife, Betty, during the second

season's work. Betty studied the Rorschach technique with the same people, both members of the Rorschach Institute, who had taught the writer. Her records were, therefore, administered in substantially similar fashion and are in every way comparable with those administered by the writer. One other record was administered, according to the Klopfer method, by Miss Virginia Kerr, of Buffalo, N. Y., a clinical psychologist trained in the use of the Rorschach. It is felt that these 70 records were collected under sufficiently similar administrative conditions for them to be considered as properly comparable.

All records were scored by the writer according to the Klopfer scoring technique. A few records were scored in the field; the majority of them, however, were scored after returning to Philadelphia, some of them as long as 16 months after administration. What effect this delay might have, beyond an intervening improvement in the writer's scoring skill, is difficult to determine. The scoring of all records was revised in November 1949, so that they were scored with the maximum reliability possible for the writer.

THE MEANINGS OF THE SCORING SYMBOLS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

R, Total number of responses in a record.

Location

W, Concept which makes use of all, or substantially all, of the blot.
D, Large detail, commonly used.
d, Small detail, commonly used.
Dd, Rarely used detail (either a tiny projection, or an edge outline, or a rarely seen inside detail, or an unusual combination of areas).
S, White space (not the blot) used to form concept (reversal of figure and ground).

Determinants

M, Figures (human, mythological, or animal) in humanlike action.
FM, Animals in animal-like action.
m, Inanimate object in motion or under stress; impersonal force (e. g., wind) acting upon human or animal figures.
k, Shading as three-dimensional expanse projected onto a two-dimensional plane (X-ray, topographical map, aerial photograph).
K, Shading as diffusion (smoke, clouds, steam, etc.).
FK, Shading as three-dimensional expanse in vista or perspective (e. g., scenery).
F, Form only, not enlivened.
Fc, Shading as surface appearance or texture of a recognizable object (e. g., "furry cat").
c, Shading as texture, but no particular object seen (e. g., "furry").
C', Achromatic surface color (black, white, and gray).
FC, Definite form with bright color (e. g., "red hair ribbon").
CF, Indefinite form with bright color (e. g., "splash of red ink").
C, Color only; concept does not involve shape or form (e. g., "that brown part makes me think of Fall").

Content

H, Substantially complete human figure.
Hd, Part of a human figure (e. g., "that's the head of a man").
A, Substantially complete animal figure.
Ad, Part of an animal's body (e. g., "cat's paw").
P, Popular responses (the 10 most frequently given responses in a series of records, ideally, a series of 100 or more).
O, Original responses (ideally so rare that they are given not more than once in 100 records).

THE CONCEPT OF MODAL PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF STUDIES OF NATIONAL CHARACTER

Several disciplines, notably history, sociology, social psychology, psychoanalytic psychiatry, and anthropology, have for some time been interested in the subject that has been called "national character." The term "national character" may be understood to mean the peculiar distribution of individual personality traits or types which distinguishes a population; it may also mean that broad organization of psychocultural patterns which distinguishes a people, embracing attributes which cannot properly be ascribed to individuals in the group.[16] In the writer's use of the term "modal personality structure" he is explicitly referring to the former phenomenon, since the latter involves sociological and cultural connotations which are not intrinsic to the Rorschach data. On the other hand, the section entitled "Some Characteristics of Tuscarora Life in 1949," describes what could be called "national character" from the second viewpoint.

Anthropology has undertaken a share of the responsibility for reconceptualizing and systematically exploring this ancient area of speculation. Perhaps the major contribution of the anthropologists has been to emphasize the fact that differences in character between the populations of different regions are largely a function, not of "race," or "group mind" or climate, or geography, but of culture. This realization—that the long-recognized cultural differences between populations are highly correlated with differences in character—has been accompanied by the corollary assertion (which to many is the cornerstone of the culture-and-personality movement) that *culture molds the personality of the individual.*

Anthropologists have derived their concepts and vocabularies of personality from a wide variety of sources, but the most important source, by all odds, has been psychoanalytic psychiatry (Kluckhohn,

[16] See Klineberg, 1944, 1949, for summary reviews of the scientific literature on national character. Klineberg's distinction of 1944 (following Ginsberg, 1941) between the two senses of the term "national character" is paraphrased above in the text.

1944). Psychoanalysis, of course, is not a homogeneous discipline, and its various schools have been unevenly sampled. Jung, for instance, had an early influence on both Seligman and Sapir, Seligman in 1924 characterizing the "savages" whom he knew in Jungian terms as primarily "extravert" (Seligman, 1924), and Sapir labeling the Eskimo culture as "extraverted," in contrast to Hindu culture, which he felt fitted Jung's description of the "thinking introvert" (Sapir, 1934). By and large, however, Jung's influence on American anthropology has been more indirect than direct, operating through the medium of the Rorschach test,[17] whose rationale represents a partial and none-too-explicit assimilation of Jung's concept of the libido as generalized psychic energy, and of the introvert-extrovert polarity. Adlerian formulations have apparently had little effect on American anthropology. Anthropologists in general have also shied away from talk about Oedipus complex, Eros and Thanatos, and other substantive elements of orthodox Freudian theory, leaving this somewhat special vocabulary to the professional analysts.[18] But anthropologists have made free allusion to many of the psychic mechanisms described by Freud—"repression," "sublimation," "superego," "projection," etc. They have also been rather liberal in the use of diagnostic catchwords in analytic vogue—"obsessive-compulsive," "oral and anal," "paranoid," etc.—and have even become almost fetishistic about infantile disciplines, assuming that infancy and early childhood are the time when culture molds the personality. The group of culturological psychoanalysts, among whom may be mentioned Fromm, Horney, and Kardiner, early imbibed the culture-molds-personality doctrine from the social sciences (as well as from Freud, who gave, however, relatively more weight to the ontogeny-recapitulates-phylogeny schema). They have fed back this teaching into anthropological theory. Neo-Freudian formulations, which dispense with some of the substantive elements of orthodox theory, have heavily encouraged many anthropologists to look to the culture pattern of infantile and childhood disciplines as *the* explanation of an almost monistic national character.

The method by which many formulations of national character have been derived is chiefly deductive. From descriptions of the culture, whether made by psychologically trained fieldworkers or not, is deduced what has to be the personality structure of "normal" adult members of the society. These deductions take the general form of the statement, "Any infant who undergoes experience-series x will in adulthood display personality syndrome X"; or, "Any adult who be-

[17] See Hallowell, 1945 a, for a review of anthropological Rorschach work.

[18] Mention should certainly be made of Roheim in this connection. He and his colleagues in "psychoanalytic anthropology" have been carrying on an enormous amount of study, little of which has been assimilated by official anthropology. (Cf. Roheim, 1932.)

haves in manner *y* must have the underlying personality-syndrome *Y*." Since the formative experiences of all normal infants and the behavior of all normal adults are assumed to be set forth in the description of the culture, the national character is evidently being inferred in circular fashion from a description of the culture with which it is assumed a priori to be correlated. In most of these strivings there is some effort to secure psychological data independent of the cultural data themselves; but such independent psychological information (e. g., test results, biographies, sample partial psychoanalyses) are usually introduced by way of illustration or of confirmation of conclusions already arrived at. (Cf. Mead, 1939; DuBois, 1944; Kardiner, 1945.)

The study of the relationship between culture and national character (insofar as they can be conceived as different classes of phenomena) has thus always been hindered by the necessity of inferring both culture and personality from the same set of observations. In unfortunate cases, this meant that descriptions of the culture were simply reworded so as to make them descriptions of the group psyche. Benedict (1934), for instance, describes the potlatch after Boas's ethnographic accounts, and then infers the psychological trait of megalomania from these cultural data. No one denies that personality is a function of (among other variables) culture; but if one conceptualizes the two as different sorts of phenomena, then the investigation of how this functional interrelationship works requires that different data be used to evaluate the two variables and define their modes of interaction. Otherwise, one is simply describing the same phenomenon with two vocabularies.

One way of securing independent psychological data is to use psychological tests, of which the "projective techniques" are one kind. The Rorschach test is one such projective technique, which has been used, in both research and clinical practice, as a tool for differential diagnosis and for securing insights into the structural interrelationships of certain key personality characteristics. With the Rorschach (and with other protective techniques) the psychologically trained anthropologist is able to gain, in a few months, fairly reliable and valid information about some aspects of the personalities of a large number of individuals—let us say between 50 and 150, depending on the test used, field conditions, etc. Thus one of the peculiar virtues of the Rorschach technique, for the anthropologist, is that it makes it possible to acquire empirical, comparable information, some of it quantitative, on a respectable sample of individuals.[19]

The intelligent use of projective techniques requires a systematic understanding of the administration and evaluation of the tests them-

[19] Again see Hallowell, 1945 a, for a review of the Rorschach in anthropology.

selves, as well as an acquaintance with some branches of personality psychology. The difficulties and time required in giving the tests, and in handling and interpreting the records, are probably one reason for the rareness of formal, detailed reports on the results of Rorschach work in anthropological literature.[20] Allusions abound; "conclusions" (usually in very general terms) are easily found; but the vast bulk of anthropological Rorschach work has never been published.

This study is, therefore, to be considered as an attempt systematically to describe the personality syndromes characteristic of members of a sociological community (as distinct from a clinical community, of schizophrenics, e. g.) from psychological rather than cultural data. It will inevitably be found wanting in many desiderata. Psychologists, let alone anthropologists, have not seriously attempted to cope with the considerable problems, statistical and conceptual, presented by this sort of research. These problems, and the solutions adopted, will be discussed in later sections. The writer feels, however, that in spite of the difficulties involved, culture-and-personality studies now need, in addition to the culturological deductions of personality, careful and detailed descriptions of the personality type, and deviations from that type, characteristic of a number of both "primitive" and Western communities, taken from psychological not cultural data. These descriptions should ideally compare in scope and detail with the standard ethnography. Whether these psychological investigations are the business of the psychologist or the anthropologist is, of course, a matter of personal opinion. But as the matter stands now, the anthropologists as well as the psychologists are undertaking the job.

THE CONCEPT AND DEFINITION OF MODAL PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

It is necessary to discuss the relationship of the term "modal personality structure" to the term "national character," since this study falls in that general area of investigation. The term "national character" has come into wide popular use to denote the characterological attributes of sociological populations. In the psychological and social sciences, the term "national character" is not used regularly, however. A long series of terms of varying degrees of synonymity has come into currency: "basic personality structure" (Kardiner and Linton), "modal personality structure" (DuBois), "social character" (Fromm), "ethos" (LaBarre, Honigmann, et al.), "temper" (Belo), "psychological culture pattern" (Benedict), "genius" (Sapir), "communal aspects of personality" (Kluckhohn and Mowrer), and various

[20] Exceptions are Billig, Gillin, and Davidson, 1947; Dubois, 1944; Hallowell, 1942, 1945 a, 1945 b; Honigmann, 1949.

others too numerous to mention here.[21] What is described under each rubric depends upon the particular data observed, the way in which these data are classified and interpreted, and the nature of the problem under discussion. They are all indices, however, of a common class of phenomena: those psychological traits, characteristics, or syndromes which impress an observer as being more frequently associated with membership in one society than are other psychological traits, characteristics, or syndromes, and which are significantly less frequently associated with membership in any other society.[22]

Beyond this point agreement thins out. The actual frequency of occurrence of any characteristic or syndrome necessary for its inclusion under one of the above-mentioned rubrics varies from virtually universal occurrence in the society, according to some writers ("The Dobuan is . . ."), to a high but undefined incidence ("Most Alorese are . . ."). Whether the incidence of the chosen features is significantly different from one society to another is determined by a variety of tests, impressionistic or statistical. The particular characteristics regarded as significant range from level of intelligence, motor habits, and logical processes, to psychoanalytically defined "libidinal formulae." The method of observing the chosen characteristics varies, too, all the way from the "cultural-deductive" method, discussed above, to "objective" psychological testing.

Faced with the task of choosing one term, the writer has settled on *modal personality structure*. This term is used with the understanding that it is only one of a number of possible labels for a phenomenon which is difficult to isolate and describe; and that all of these labels really denote indices of this phenomenon, rather than a comprehensive measure of it. Furthermore, modal personality structure is given an operational definition of its meaning in this particular study. This meaning, it should be noted, is not quite the same as that of Dubois. DuBois defines modal personality structure as "the product of the interplay of fundamental physiologically and neurologically determined tendencies and experiences common to all human beings acted upon by the cultural milieu, which denies, directs, and gratifies these needs very differently in different societies." She also remarks that "in Alor both the results of test material and [her] own impressions indicate a wide range of variations. Ranges, however, are measured on a common base line. On such a base line data will show central tendencies that constitute the modal personality for any particular culture." (DuBois, 1944, pp. 3–5.) DuBois' definition thus includes both statistical and cultural-deductive concepts; this writer

[21] Honigmann, 1949, pp. 357–359, gives an even longer list of synonyms.

[22] The writer is here following the first of Ginsberg's two definitions of "national character" quoted in Klineberg, 1944.

dispenses for the purposes of definition with any assertions about modal personality's relationship to culture, leaving that for further investigation.

Structure is included in the term because the characteristics under investigation have their locus in the individual, where they do not exist as independent traits, but in integral relationships to one another. What is being asked is not, "What are the traits most frequently observed in the Tuscarora population?" but, "What are the most frequently associated traits?" and "What is the form of association?" *Personality* is used because the characteristics being investigated are by common usage in the psychological and social sciences classified as "personality" traits, within the larger class "psychological." *Modal* is used to indicate the employment of the criterion of frequency and central tendency in the distribution of the various types of personality structure in the population being observed.

Operationally, for the purposes of this study, *modal personality structure is defined as that type of personality structure, formulated in terms of the Rorschach test, from which the obtained Rorschach records of more individuals are indistinguishable in certain chosen dimensions than are indistinguishable in these dimensions from any other definable type.* The rationale of this definition, and the procedures of its use, are explained in detail below.

RATIONALE

The Rorschach, like other scientific techniques, has certain limitations which need to be recognized before it is used. For one thing, the Rorschach does not profess to give reliable information about events in the life of the individual which have contributed to the formation of his personality. In this sense, therefore, it does not provide data which are entirely comparable to the kind sought in psychoanalysis (although a skilled interpreter, working with a rich record, can often arrive at an understanding of some symbols and traumas significant in a subject's personality). The Rorschach reveals something of the structure of an individual's personality; it indicates certain patterns of psychic economy; proportionately how much energy is devoted to responding to stimuli from the social environment, how much to fantasy, etc. It does not claim or need to elucidate content primarily. It does not tell the interpreter directly how the subject feels about his mother, for instance, or his father, although a clever reader may make shrewd inferences. Thus the Rorschach provides data on only selected areas of the personality; or rather, it views the personality in a certain way, and gives information which is relevant only to that point of view. It gives an "X-ray" of the personality rather than a "complete" anatomical analysis.

It may be felt that in trying to define modal personality structure one cannot get from the analysis of Rorschach material anything more, or perhaps not as much, as can be inferred from a knowledge of the culture itself. In a sense this is true. A standard approach to the determination of the personality characteristics of groups is to define the culture, and then deduce, from a knowledge of some system of psychology, what sort of personalities people must have who behave in the way prescribed as normal by the culture. But, aside from the advantage of quickly getting insights from the Rorschach which are difficult to secure in any other way, and the advantages of using a relatively standardized form of observation which makes Rorschach results directly comparable cross-culturally, one major reason for using Rorschach (and other projective techniques) is that it avoids the circular argument of describing culture first in culturological terms, and then redescribing it in psychological terms. The psychological redescription may indeed be entirely adequate, and fit in perfectly with other sources of information, such as projective tests. But these culturological analyses are difficult to use in any but a purely descriptive way. One cannot really test hypotheses about the relationships and interactions of personality and culture by using the same data for the description of both culture and personality. If one tries it, one inevitably comes out with a zero statement.

A refined version of the cultural-deductive method was that adopted by Cora DuBois in The People of Alor (DuBois, 1944). In this book there appeared, in addition to a careful description of the culture, a psychoanalysis of the cultural forms and of certain biographical materials, by Abram Kardiner; and, as a sort of control data, a "blind" analysis of a small sample of drawings, the Porteus Maze test, word associations, and 37 Rorschach records. The Rorschach data especially provided a convenient control for the culturological analytic inferences and deductions, and the substantial agreement of both sets of conclusions was mutually validating.

There is, however, an even better use for projective techniques than simply to confirm opinions reached by other methods. One can ask, and answer, questions from a set of projective data, which can never be answered from a simple generalization about national character, derived from knowledge of culture pattern. Such questions are: "What is statistically modal (most frequent)?" "Is the statistically modal personality structure what we might predict from an analysis of the culture?" "Who are the psychologically typical, and psychologically deviant members of the community?" "What are their social roles?" "What are the kinds of deviation?" "What is the incidence of the modal and the other various personality types?" "How variable are the personalities of a community of people with one culture?"

As was mentioned earlier, few anthropologists have published a systematic description and analysis of their Rorschach material. Four major exceptions to this are Hallowell (1942, 1945 a); Oberholzer (1944); Billig, Gillin, and Davidson (1947–48); and Honigmann (1949).

Hallowell, Oberholzer, and Honigmann employ a substantially similar approach. This approach consists of assembling and scoring the series of protocols, and calculating mean (average) scores for the several factors (determinants, locations, content categories, and ratios). These mean scores are then assembled to present what might be termed a "mean profile" or a "profile of means." This mean profile is interpreted as if it were the Rorschach of a single individual. The psychological structure deduced by the interpretation is ascribed to all "normal" members of the group. In addition to this basic procedure, the authors enter into refinements and nuances, particularly Oberholzer, who calculates standard deviations, and investigates various permutations and combinations in his material by ad hoc procedures designed to answer very specific problems. Oberholzer, furthermore, uses a sample of Swiss normal records as a contrasting group upon whom to project the Alorese profile.

Billig, Gillin, and Davidson's monograph includes a large quantity of ethnological material; Billig is responsible for the Rorschach interpretation. Billig uses a somewhat different manner of approach from Hallowell, Oberholzer, and Honigmann. In addition to giving group averages for some factors, he calculates the percentage of cases in the sample which fall within certain limits (in one to three attributes simultaneously) with supposed diagnostic significance, and presents the data in tabular form. Although he makes no use of measures of correlation and contingency, or of statistical significance, he nevertheless observes frequencies of association among two or three factors. These diagnostic categories are conceived as directly representing personality traits, and statements are made about the relative incidence of various traits: such and such a percentage of the population are introversive, such and such a percentage are rigid; a certain percentage of the rigid ones are also introversive, and so on. In summary, he pulls together the traits with highest incidence and fits them together into a synthetic structural picture. This approach, like the one before it, is not convincing in its treatment of structure, because there is no way of proving that the traits associated in the group picture are really associated in many individual records. Billig's method does, however, have the great advantage of allowing him to discuss the wide variability of the population in regard to the various traits.

At the beginning of the study, the writer expected to handle his data (see table 2) somewhat after the manner of Hallowell, Ober-

TABLE 2.—*The scores obtained by 70 adult Tuscarora Indians on the Rorschach test (main scores only)*

Group	Case	Age	Sex	*R*	*F* percent	*M*: sum *C*	*W*	*D*	*d*	*Dd*	*S*	*M*	*FM*	*m*	*k*	*K*	*FK*	*F*	*Fc*	*c*	*C'*	*FC*	*CF*	*C*
Modal	1	17	M	10	30.0	2:2	10	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	0
	2	19	M	15	46.7	3:3	8	7	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	1	0
	3	21	M	14	28.6	3:1½	9	4	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	1	0
	4	21	M	12	25.0	1: ½	8	2	0	2	0	1	5	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0
	5	22	M	6	50.0	1:1	6	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
	6	27	M	12	41.7	0:1	9	3	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	2
	7	30	M	19	47.4	2:3	8	11	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	9	0	0	0	2	1	2
	8	32	M	12	41.7	0:1	9	3	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	1
	9	39	M	10	30.0	0:1	7	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	2	1	0
	10	42	M	25	44.1	2:1½	9	12	1	2	1	2	4	2	1	1	0	11	1	0	0	1	1	0
	11	42	M	11	27.3	2:1½	8	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	1	1
	12	48	M	10	40.0	2:1	9	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0
	13	58	M	10	40.0	1:0	4	4	1	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0
	14	59	M	10	40.0	1:2	9	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	2	0
	15	64	M	10	40.0	0:0	9	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	2	0	0
	16	66	M	15	33.3	1: ½	9	6	0	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	1	0
	17	18	F	10	50.0	0:1½	8	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1
	18	21	F	11	54.6	2:2½	10	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	1
	19	23	F	17	23.6	4:1	9	8	0	0	0	4	3	2	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	2
	20	26	F	18	27.8	4:1	12	4	0	2	0	4	5	0	0	0	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	2
	21	28	F	15	46.7	1:1	4	7	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	7	3	0	0	0	2	0
	22	28	F	10	40.0	3:1	9	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0
	23	30	F	12	33.3	2:2	10	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	2
	24	40	F	9	44.4	2: ½	9	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	2
	25	60	F	12	25.0	1:2½	12	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	2
	26	79	F	17	41.2	3:1	6	11	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	2	0	0
Submodal	27	18	M	13	30.8	2:1½	10	2	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	3	0	0
	28	23	M	35	34.4	5:2½	9	16	3	6	1	5	5	0	0	0	2	12	8	0	0	1	2	0
Deviant in 3 categories	29	68	M	31	48.3	2:3	5	24	1	1	0	2	6	1	0	0	0	15	3	0	0	2	2	0
	30	28	F	16	25.0	2:1½	10	6	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	3	2	0
	31	37	F	20	25.0	5:4	6	12	0	2	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	1	4	2	0
	32	43	F	28	28.6	5:4	13	13	0	2	0	5	4	3	0	0	0	8	2	0	0	4	2	0
	33	59	F	11	36.4	1:3	11	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	3	0
Deviant in high R	34	16	M	53	40.4	11:3½	8	26	3	16	0	11	12	1	1	0	2	21	0	0	0	3	2	0
	35	19	M	32	43.7	5:1½	17	10	0	3	2	5	2	2	0	0	0	14	4	0	1	3	2	0
	36	30	M	40	60.0	1:4½	8	20	1	9	2	1	4	3	1	0	0	24	1	0	1	2	2	0
	37	30	M	109	38.5	5:7	7	39	14	34	8	5	25	6	1	0	6	42	5	0	9	6	4	2
	38	56	M	52	57.7	7:3	6	27	6	12	1	7	7	2	0	0	0	30	2	0	0	2	2	2
	39	43	F	108	56.5	6:7	15	53	13	20	7	6	12	4	4	3	1	61	5	0	4	2	6	1
	40	48	F	46	28.3	8:5	11	25	3	6	1	8	8	1	0	1	2	13	4	0	0	8	1	0
	41	49	F	46	30.4	10:3½	13	18	1	12	2	10	10	3	0	0	0	14	1	0	2	5	1	0
	42	49	F	57	42.1	7:4½	15	24	4	9	5	7	7	2	0	2	1	24	4	1	4	1	4	3
Deviant F percent	43	18	M	64	60.9	2:5	6	38	10	8	2	2	7	3	0	1	0	39	5	0	0	4	3	0
	44	19	M	11	0.0	1:1	6	4	0	1	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
	45	25	M	11	63.6	1:2	9	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	2	0

	46	38	M	11	9.1	1:1	6	3	0	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	1	0
	47	48	M	10	70.0	0:0	5	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	2	0	0	0
	48	56	M	6	66.7	0:0	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
	49	69	M	46	84.6	1:2½	3	28	6	8	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	39	0	0	0	1	0	0
	50	84	M	11	100.0	0:0	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	51	84	M	27	88.9	0:0	5	16	2	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	24	1	0	0	0	0	0
	52	70	M	15	73.3	1:0	4	7	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	2	0	0	0	0	0
	53	17	F	76	73.8	6:2½	1	23	14	31	7	6	6	1	0	1	0	56	1	0	0	5	0	0
	54	19	F	43	62.7	3:2	10	26	4	3	0	3	3	1	0	0	2	27	0	0	4	2	0	1
	55	27	F	13	61.6	1:1½	5	7	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	1	0
	56	32	F	20	10.0	3:1½	19	1	0	0	0	3	7	2	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	1	0	0
	57	39	F	16	62.6	1:3	10	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	2	0	0	0	3	0
	58	39	F	11	72.8	0:1	6	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	0
	59	45	F	67	22.3	9:9	26	29	4	6	2	9	15	2	7	0	2	15	5	0	0	7	0	1
	60	53	F	46	63.0	1:3½	8	31	3	3	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	29	4	3	0	0	4	1
	61	67	F	18	61.2	2:½	7	11	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	11	1	0	0	1	2	0
Deviant M: sum C	62	18	M	124	53.3	12:2	15	33	18	58	0	12	16	5	0	1	9	66	7	0	5	0	1	0
	63	34	M	12	33.3	5:0	9	2	0	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
	64	16	F	26	46.1	6:0	3	17	3	3	0	5	5	1	0	1	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	0
	[1]65	22	F	362	38.7	117:7	31	112	31	149	0	117	42	10	1	3	11	140	16	0	12	6	4	0
	66	24	F	70	44.3	10:11½	7	32	10	21	0	10	10	3	1	2	3	31	2	0	6	1	1	0
	67	25	F	35	51.3	3:1½	7	21	1	4	2	3	12	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	1	1	0	0
	68	45	F	41	36.6	6:1½	5	19	3	14	0	6	7	1	0	0	2	15	6	0	3	1	0	0
	69	64	F	43	58.1	5:0	12	22	1	7	1	5	5	2	0	0	1	25	4	1	0	0	0	0
	70	55	F	23	30.4	1:7	6	14	1	2	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	7	2	1	0	1	5	1

[1] This case was omitted in the calculation of sigma for all categories.
Locations were not obtained for a number of responses because the subject could not remember them.

holzer, and Honigmann, calculating a profile of means and interpreting from that the modal personality structure. Fortunately, however, his dissertation adviser, Dr. A. I. Hallowell, suggested that he apply for advice about the statistical problems involved. Dr. Malcolm G. Preston, of the Department of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania, was asked what he thought of the proposed procedure for defining the "group personality." Dr. Preston was most discouraging, at first. He considered that calculating mean scores, and then interpreting the mean profile as if it characterized everyone in the group, was psychologically meaningless. It also committed the fallacy of operationally assuming that scores have standard meanings regardless of context. He pointed out furthermore, that since the frequency distributions of various scores in any one category were almost all heavily skewed, the mean was a very poor measure of central tendency. (See fig. 3, p. 60, for the frequency distribution of *M*.)

About the same time, Dr. Julius Wishner, also at Penn in the psy-

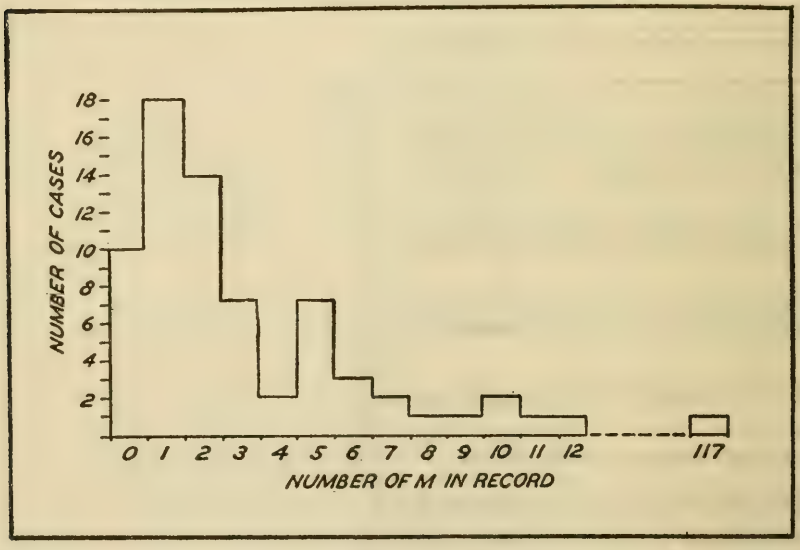

FIGURE 3.—Sample frequency distribution: The determinant "*M*" (Tuscarora data).

chology department, drew the writer's attention to an article by Roy Schafer. Schafer, writing on Psychological Tests in Clinical Research, was not dealing with the problem of discovering the personality properties of sociological populations; but his discussion of the difficulties of investigating the psychological properties of gross clinical categories was pertinent. He criticized the assumption that "a statistically established group trend characterizes all the members of the group," saying:

Few would openly defend this assumption, yet there are numerous instances of its implicit acceptance in the "interpretations of results" sections of published articles. We find such statements as "alcoholics tend to . . ." or "schizophrenics are . . ." when actually the statistics have merely established that relatively many schizophrenics or alcoholics show a certain trend.

Schafer further criticized the naive use of mean scores in the following argument:

. . . there are many published studies comparing the average incidence of each of the Rorschach test scores in two or more groups. Significant differences between averages are then held to indicate significant and *specific* personality differences between the members of the groups involved. This procedure therefore implicitly assumes that a score retains the same significance regardless of the context in which it occurs. Methodological confusion is further increased when the researcher tries to compensate for his initial disregard of individual score-patterns by interpreting the pattern of obtained averages. Thus the Rorschach test scores of a group may be averaged and the table of averages then interpreted as if it represented the individual scores of the "typical" group member.[23]

It thus became apparent, from Dr. Preston's remarks and Schafer's considerations, that a different manner of procedure would have to be devised. Dr. Preston took the matter under advisement, and at a later meeting reformulated the problem in somewhat the following way: "What you want to define is the typical Tuscarora personality. One way to do this would be to calculate a standard measure of central tendency, other than the mean, for each factor, and then pick out of your series those records which would be psychologically indistinguishable from all of these measures of central tendency simultaneously. These records you could regard as typical by definition. You might then get someone to interpret the profile of central tendencies 'blind.' The interpretation would, of course, apply only to the selected group of individuals who are typical." The writer, Dr. Preston, and Dr. Wishner then mulled over the problem and the writer began to work out frequency distributions for the various factors, and to plan the specific procedure.

The writer decided to use the mode as the best measure of central tendency because almost all of the distributions were either J-curves or else heavily skewed to the right. Furthermore, use of mode recommended itself because the mode is in some respects more intelligible in terms of culture theory than is either median or mean.

Culture can be regarded as a constitution of recipes for behavior, in the nature of techniques and rules sanctioned by society, which are taught and learned on various levels of awareness. Not all in-

[23] Schafer, 1949. In justice to the method of averaging, however, it should be pointed out that, in anthropological work at least, some differences in national character can be inferred from average profiles—differences which make sense to persons who know the societies being compared. A technique can be devised which for many purposes is better than averaging, but the averaging procedure is useful in chalking out the gross tendency of the differences.

dividuals in any society know all these recipes; and many of the recipes are alternative to one another. (Cf. Linton, 1936.) Each recipe in itself permits some variation in application; and even more variation in practice is introduced by each member of society, who perceives his life situations in his own way, slightly different (or grossly different, in some cases) from that of any other person, and who judges the applicability or nonapplicability of cultural alternatives, or even adopts more or less idiosyncratic techniques in response to the pressure of circumstances. Furthermore, unique problems constantly occur in the lives of individuals which induce them to use certain cultural techniques which other members of the society may know of but never have occasion to use; and even common problems occur in varying contexts and at varying times (for instance, illness of a parent, natural disaster, death, quarrels, divorce, etc.). Thus the *actual* behavior of individuals in any society, even with a relatively homogeneous culture without well-marked subcultures (class, caste, occupation, etc.), in response to any given problem, will show some distribution of forms; the degree of dispersion, and the central tendency, of course, will be in part a function of the nature of the cultural element itself.

When this variable behavior is in an area such that it will influence the development of personality, as is particularly the case with the complex of behavior involved in the care and treatment of infants and children, the necessary outcome is the production of a fairly wide range of personalities. Nevertheless, there will be one constellation of recipes—the cultural prescriptions—which will be more frequently and more consistently applied, in the population as a whole, than any other constellation. Accordingly there should be one type of personality, correlated with this constellation, which is recognizable by its being more frequently and more closely approximated than any other.[24]

These reflections indicate the dangers of the approach which seems often explicitly to claim, or implicitly to assume, that all persons "within" a culture are equally exposed to the "same" culture, and therefore have been molded by the "same experiences." In his Elaboration of DuBois' Introduction to the People of Alor, for instance, Kardiner repeatedly mentions the uniformity of "cultural influences," although he admits the variety of individual personalities:

> But it must be remembered that these variations in character are all to be construed as different reactions to the same situation. Each individual is presented with the cultural influences by individuals all of whom are different.

[24] This discussion, for the sake of simplicity, has avoided the concept of "status personality" as formulated by Linton. (See Linton, 1936, 1949.) In the writer's conceptual scheme, status personality types are functions of subcultures, to which the above considerations apply.

> No two individuals subjected to exactly the same cultural influences will utilize them in exactly the same manner. This can be very clearly seen in the study of twins in our own society. [DuBois, 1944, p. 8.]

While Kardiner is certainly right in emphasizing the importance of individual differences, the writer feels that the variability of personality data in general, within the confines of any given society, and of the Rorschach data in particular presented here, cannot be easily discussed as long as one assumes every individual to have been "subjected to exactly the same cultural influences." One can, indeed, describe Tuscarora culture. But, simply because a culture can be described, one need not assume that every individual's formative experience will be identical. This is because it is not "culture" which feeds and cleans and rocks a child to sleep, administers punishment and praise, offers advice and acts as a model. It is the parents.[25] From a knowledge of the culture one can *predict*, for a large number of individuals, within what limits certain proportions of parents' behavior, and children's experience, will lie, and about what forms behavior and experience will cluster. But for any one individual, prediction becomes hazardous. The situation is analogous to that of the physicist, who recognizes that his "laws" are really statements of probabilities.

No individual personality is ever molded by culture; it is molded by a unique series of experiences which, like fingerprints, is peculiar to the individual. We can, however, state (as we have argued above) that probably the experiences of any given infant will be more or less similar to cultural expectations, and from this we can infer that there should be a type of personality—the modal personality structure—which is more frequently and more closely approximated in a society than any other type, and which is demonstrably correlated with the cultural prescriptions.

It would be merely confusing to try to correlate the wide range of personalities in any society, which have been produced by a wide range of actual formative experiences, with the relatively narrower range of cultural prescriptions; and yet "averaging in" the statistically deviant personalities, and discussing the relationship of this "average" profile to the culture, does just that. The concept of mean, or average, rests on the assumption that one can find a single value, representing each one of the measured members of a series, which when multiplied by the number of members of the series will give a product equal to the sum of the raw, obtained values. Each member of the series, in an average, is operationally assumed to be equal, and no member can be

[25] Radcliffe-Brown has commented succinctly on this point: "You will not, for instance, say of culture patterns that they act upon an individual, which is as absurd as to hold a quadratic equation capable of committing a murder" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1937, p. 17).

excluded from this equality. Where one is justified in assuming that each member of the series is "really" equal—for instance, when the physicist takes the average of a series of measurements of the same phenomenon, in order to obviate the chance of error in one measurement, or where for the purposes of the problem actual differences are not important—for instance, when it is the sum total that is wanted, and knowledge of averages is desired because one can predict the sum total by knowing the average and the number of members in the series, the average is a reasonable statistic. In many cases, indeed, where deviations from the "true" value are randomly distributed, the average equals the mode. But in the measurement of personality, where one may be confident in advance that the members of any series are not equal, where the differences are important, where the average does not equal the mode (skewed distribution), and where one is not concerned with the sum total (personalities not being an additive phenomenon), the average is likely to be misleading.[26]

Having decided to use the mode of each frequency distribution as the best measure of central tendency for that factor, the next problem was to decide what range on either side of the mode, for any given distribution, included scores which could not be taken to indicate distinguishable psychological differences from the mode. Two questions can be asked of the difference between two scores: "Is the difference large enough so that conventional interpretive procedures assign psychological significance to it?" and, "Is the reliability of the test itself (considering both the variability of the subject in a test-retest sense, and the variability in scores owing to differences in administration and scoring among examiners) high enough to preclude the practical likelihood of such an observed difference having occurred by chance?" It became apparent, as the reliability of the Rorschach itself was investigated, that the limits of diagnostically significant differences were much more narrowly drawn than conventional limits of statistical confidence.

The reliability of the Rorschach, and of scores in the various categories, has been investigated by several students, notably Hertz (1934), Fosberg (1941), Thornton and Guilford (1937), and Vernon (1933). Various administrative procedures are used by these experimenters, and none report on all the categories of the scoring system employed by the writer (Klopfer's revised system). Fosberg, using test-retest data, reports an r for the total test of 0.877; Hertz, with the split-half method, 0.829 (a corrected average); Vernon, by split-half, 0.54. The

[26] In the Appendix (p. 111), will be found average and modal crude profiles for the Tuscarora Rorschach data. Comparison shows that, even though the general structure of the profile is the same, there are significant differences which would necessarily lead to differences in interpretation.

various authors also disagree as to the reliability of particular factors, Hertz's uncorrected r for $(M+FM)$ being 0.594, while Thornton and Guilford find r for $(M+FM)$ to be 0.919. In view of the unreliability of the very coefficients of reliability proposed by the various authors, the writer decided to take 0.800 as the arbitrary r for the total test and for all the various categories within it. This r is understood to include at least three major factors contributing to variability: the variability of an individual's performance (whether measured by the test-retest or split-half method); the variability of administrative procedure among various Rorschach workers; and the variability of scoring among various Rorschach workers using the same scoring system.[27]

The question, "Which scores are close enough to the modal scores in a selected series of categories to be considered indistinguishable from these modal scores?" can be asked in another way: "How far away from the modal score must one move, in either direction, before one reaches a limit beyond which more distant scores can be confidently regarded as representing 'real' differences from the modal score?" A convenient way of answering this question is to use a function of the Standard Error of Measurement as a limit on either side of the mode. The formula is:

$$\sigma_{meas} = \sigma_{dist}\sqrt{1-r}$$

When r is 0.800,

$$2.24\sigma_{meas} = 1.00\sigma_{dist}$$

For our purposes, this means that beyond a distance one standard deviation (distribution sigma) on either side of the mode occur scores which have less than three chances in one hundred of having been given by a subject whose "true" score is as low as or lower than the mode (in the case of scores larger than the mode), or as high as or higher than the mode (in the case of scores smaller than the mode). The value for sigma is rounded off, in case it is not an integer, to the next higher whole number. Taking the category M of the Tuscarora Rorschachs as an example, we find that the modal score is 1. (See fig. 3, p. 60.) Using $r=0.800$ as the coefficient of reliability, and calculating the standard deviation of the distribution as 2.9 (or, for our purposes, 3, since scores on the Rorschach are given only in discrete

[27] It seems to be the general consensus among Rorschach workers that consideration of content and sequence, and other "qualitative" factors, makes the interpretation, in its Gestalt, more valid than the quantitative scoring alone. Thus the Rorschach worker in the clinic does not need to worry about reliability so much, because he can work with content and sequence; but in studies of the present kind, content and sequence cannot be properly handled, and disproportionately great reliance must be placed on the quantitative data.

units), this means that beyond the "modal range" 0–4 we may be confident, as the 0.03 probability level, that no scores exist which were given by subjects whose "true" score is 1. In the case of *M*, this range includes 51 out of the 70 cases in our series.

It is, of course, obvious that a person who gives 0*M* is probably different from a person who gives 4*M*. If we include all cases between 0*M* and 4*M* in the 1*M* class, we may be sure that we will not have a group which is "truly" identical with respect to *M;* we know in advance that we will include people whose "true" *M* capacity is 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4, and indeed a few whose "true" *M* is greater than 4. At this point, however, we are not interested in making psychological interpretations; we are simply selecting a group of scores which have in common the property of not being certainly distinct from the modal score. We have divided the sample of *M* scores into a group which could and a group which could not be reliably distinguished from the modal score of 1*M*.

The procedure which was applied to *M* was also applied to a number of other factors, 21 in all: *R*, *F* percent, and *M*: Σ*C* (the three most heavily weighted factors); the determinants *M*, *FM*, *m*, *k*, *K*, *FK*, *F*, *Fc*, *c*, *C′*, *FC*, *CF*, and *C*; and the location categories *W*, *D*, *d*, *Dd*, and *S*. For each one of those attributes, a frequency distribution was calculated, the mode observed, and the modal range calculated as extending one standard deviation ($2.24\sigma_{meas}$) on either side of the mode. (See table 3, below.) Then each Rorschach record was studied. Those records which fell within the modal range in every one of the 21 categories were considered to constitute the modal class.

TABLE 3.—*The Rorschach attributes of the Tuscarora modal class*

Category	Crude mode	Sigma	Rounded sigma	Shape of distribution	Modal range
R	12.5	24.8	25	Skewed positively	0–38
F percent	42.5	17.9	18	Symmetrical	24.5–60.5
M: sum *C*	1:1	3.1	4	do	5:1–1:5
M	1	2.9	3	Skewed positively	0–4
FM	1	4.4	5	do	0–6
m	0	1.3	2	J-curve	0–2
k	0	.6	1	do	0–1
K	0	.6	1	do	0–1
FK	0	1.4	2	do	0–2
F	4	14.0	14	Skewed positively	0–18
Fc	1	1.8	2	do	0–3
c	0	.4	1	J-curve	0–1
C′	0	1.6	2	do	0–2
FC	0	1.8	2	do	0–2
CF	0	1.3	2	do	0–2
C	0	.3	1	do	0–1
W	9	3.8	4	Symmetrical	5–13
D	2	11.9	12	Skewed positively	0–14
d	0	3.8	4	J-curve	0–4
Dd	0	9.4	10	do	0–10
S	0	1.6	2	do	0–2

The reason for choosing these particular 21 categories rests largely on the grounds of Rorschach convention. The determinants and the locations are the two major groups of attributes considered in quantitative interpretation. *R*, the total number of responses, is important because certain important ratios are a function of *R* (e. g., *W* percent). *F* percent, and $M : \Sigma C$, are included because they govern the basic shape of the profile of determinants; including them means that the context of the scores (the structure) is not being entirely disregarded. These two essential ratios describe certain limits of context within which *R*, *F*, *M*, *FC*, *CF*, and *C*, are mutually dependent variables. It is felt that those records which fit all these modal ranges simultaneously have in common not only the statistical property of being indistinguishable from the separate modal values, but also of fitting a modal Gestalt.

Twenty-six records (37 percent) out of the 70 fell within the modal class. Seven cases (10 percent) fell within the modal ranges of *R*, *F* percent, and $M : \Sigma C$, and deviated in not more than 2 determinant categories and not more than 1 location category; 9 records (13 percent) fell within the modal ranges of *F* percent, and $M : \Sigma C$, and would probably have fallen within the modal ranges of the determinant and location categories if *R* had not been deviant (in other words, their profiles were the right shape, but there were too many responses). These 16 "submodal" records (23 percent of the sample) the writer considers to cluster about the modal type, and to be represented by it. In 19 cases (27 percent) the *F* percent was beyond modal ranges, but $M : \Sigma C$ was modal. In 9 cases (13 percent) $M : \Sigma C$ was beyond modal ranges, but *F* percent was modal. These 28 latter cases are not considered to be represented by the modal type.

Having selected 26 records which were indistinguishable from the modal values of each of 21 categories, and which were, therefore, by operational definition equivalent (i.e., not reliably distinguishable), the writer went through these records and calculated mean (average) values for the 21 categories. (Averages assume that if all cases were equivalent, and all added up to a given sum, then each case would have the "average" score.) Average values were also calculated for several other categories, and for a number of ratios, which prove to be useful in interpretation. It was assumed at this point that the interpretation placed upon this profile of means, derived from the 26 modal records, would define only the modal personality structure, and that only the 26 selected records would closely approximate it, although the 16 "submodal" records would be represented by it more or less. This modal interpretation would not in itself imply any-

thing positive about the personalities of the 28 deviant records; and, of course, the mere fact of statistical deviation could not be taken as any indication whatsoever of pathology. (See fig. 4, below, for the quantitative characteristics of the modal record.)

The qualitative features (see fig. 4, below) of the modal Rorschach were derived by procedures different from those applied to the quantitative data. The popular responses were established by examining the total adult series of 70 records; the 10 most frequent responses were abstracted as the populars. The table also shows which of the Tuscarora populars are included in the list of White populars by Klopfer and of Ojibwa populars by Hallowell. The *M* and *FM* responses within the modal class of 26 records were roughly classified according to "quality" as the table shows.

Having calculated the average Rorschach attributes of the modal class of Tuscarora Indians by the procedures outlined above, the writer had at his disposal for interpretation the data collected in figures 4A and 4B. These data were interpreted as if they were the Rorschach of a single individual. The Rorschach of an individual actually would include specific verbal responses, subject to sequence and content analysis. Since no specific responses could be abstracted, by techniques known to the writer, to "fill out" the modal record, the qualitative data given in figure 4B were looked to to provide some insights at least into the sort of attributes derivable from sequence and content analysis in an ordinary record.

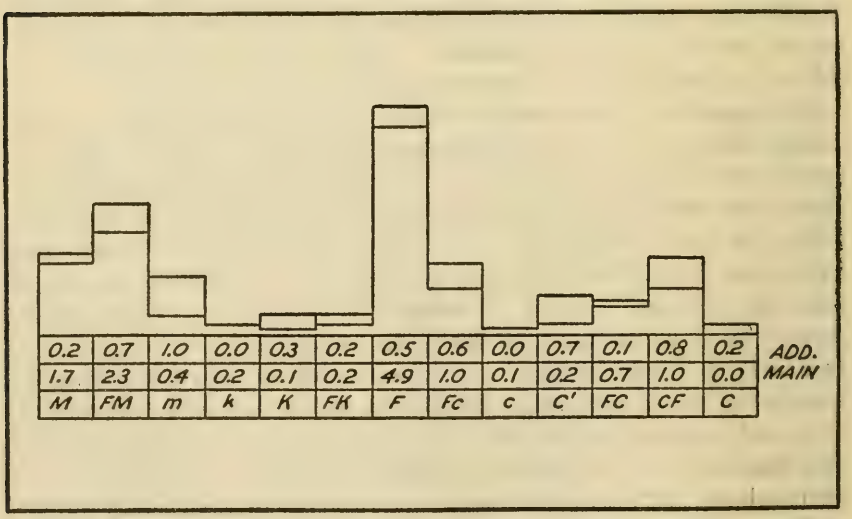

FIGURE 4.—The composite Rorschach profile of the Tuscarora modal class.

(For analysis of this figure, see next page.)

A. Quantitative features (averages) for the 26 modal records.

Total responses (*R*)	12.8.
Average time per response	55.7 seconds.
Average reaction time for cards I, IV, V, VI, VII	27.6 seconds.
Average reaction time for cards II, III, VIII, IX, X	27.9 seconds.
F percent (*F*/*R*)	37.6 percent.
(*FK*+*F*+*Fc*)/*R*	46.5 percent.
(*A*+*Ad*)/*R*	48.1 percent.
Number of *P* (the 10 Tuscarora *P*)	4.3.
Number of *O* (in Tuscarora series of 70)	1.5.
(*H*+*A*): (*Hd*+*Ad*)	7.0:0.7.
sum *C*=(*FC*+2*CF*+3*C*)/2	1.35.
M:sum *C*	1.7:1.3.
(*FM*+*m*): (*Fc*+*c*+*C'*)	2.8:1.3.
(Number of responses to cards VIII, IX, X)/*R*	31.1 percent.
W:*M*	8.5:1.7.
W percent (*W*/*R*)	71.2 percent.
D percent (*D*/*R*)	22.8 percent.
d percent (*d*/*R*)	0.8 percent.
Dd percent (*Dd*/*R*)	4.3 percent.
S percent (*S*/*R*)	0.8 percent.

EACH ADDITIONAL RESPONSE COUNTS AS ½ IN SCORING

F:*Fc*	5.1:1.3.
F:(*FK*+*Fc*)	5.1:1.6.
(*Fc*+*c*+*C'*):(*FC*+*CF*+*C*)	1.9:2.2.

B. Qualitative features.

Populars, in order of frequency, as found in total series of 70

Content	Card	Location	Klopfer's P	Hallowell's P
1. Winged creature	V	W	X	X
2. Animal(s)	VIII	D or W	X	X
3. Human figure(s)	III	D or W	X	X
4. Animal(s)	II	D or W	X	X
5. Skin	VI	W	X	
6. Winged creature	I	W	X	X
7. Skin	IV	W		
8. Human figure(s)	II	D or W		
9. Human figure(s)	VII	D or W		
10. Anthropoidal figure	IV	W		

Quality of *M* (in the 26 modal records):

Percent

70 (35/50) are to colored cards.
62 (31/50) show "dependent movement" (oral activity, cooperative behavior).
18 (9/50) show no movement (attitudes, expressions, postures).
12 (6/50) show aggressive movement (fighting, arguing, struggling over something).
8 (4/50) show independent movement (solitary activity like walking).

Quality of *FM* (in the 26 modal records):

Percent

62 (43/69) are to colored cards.
51 (35/69) show independent movement (solitary activity like flying, crawling, climbing).
26 (18/69) show no movement (attitudes, expressions, postures).
17 (12/69) show aggressive movement (fighting, stalking).
6 (4/69) show "dependent movement" (oral activity, cooperative behavior).

The writer wrote out his own psychological interpretation of the data, and then went over his interpretation with Dr. and Mrs. A. I. Hallowell, who had also both been trained by Klopfer. Thus the writer's interpretation really represents the joint deductions of three persons, all of whom had some familiarity with the broad outlines of Tuscarora culture. At all points of interpretation, the writer inevitably checked his Rorschach conclusions for congruence with his impressions of people and behavior patterns which he remembered. In the writer's files is a "blind" interpretation of exactly the same Rorschach data presented in figures 4A and 4B (from which the writer had also worked) by Miss Eleanor Ross, clinical phychologist at the Institute for Mental Hygiene of the Pennsylvania Hospital, at Philadelphia, and an associate of Dr. Klopfer. Miss Ross was told that the Rorschach data handed to her were a composite profile derived by the procedures outlined in this section (which were briefly explained to her). She knew that the original Rorschachs came from the Indians of the Tuscarora Reservation in New York State. She had never visited this reservation and had read and heard nothing about it, beyond a general layman's impression of what sort of people reservation Indians are and how they live. It was felt that Miss Ross's interpretation would serve as a check on possibly distorting projections by the writer of his knowledge (or misconceptions) of Tuscarora culture onto the Rorschach data.

The writer again wishes to emphasize, finally, that the validity of both the techniques here expounded, and the modal personality type derived for the Tuscarora should (ideally, in a short time, in order to rule out the likelihood of intervening change) be checked by a cross-validation study, in which a comparable but different sample is secured and analyzed.

THE MODAL PERSONALITY STRUCTURE OF THE TUSCARORA INDIANS, AND DEVIANT TYPES OF PERSONALITY

THE MODAL PERSONALITY TYPE

The writer's first, over-all impression, in glancing at the location percentages and the histogram of Rorschach determinants, is that the Tuscarora modal personality type is less exotic to western norms than are most other Rorschach types reported in the anthropological literature. Certainly it is not even remotely similar to the deeply traumatized, fearful Alorese (Oberholzer, 1944); it is not as rigidly constricted as Kaska and Ojibwa (Honigmann, 1949; Hallowell, 1942). A nearer approximation is to the Maya-speaking Indians of highland Guatemala (Billig, Gillin, and Davidson, 1947–48). The determi-

nant graph (but not the location proportions) seem to come fairly close to the writer's impression (derived from his own White Rorschachs and from lecture statements of Klopfer) of an ordinary (though not necessarily typical) White American graph.

No formal attempt is made here by the writer to estimate the average level of innate intelligence, and of operating intellectual efficiency, of the modal type. He arbitrarily assumed, at the beginning of the study, from general anthropological principles, that no meaningful differences in intellectual capacity exist between the Tuscarora Indians and other Indian or White populations. Furthermore, the scoring of form-level ratings—the key criterion of intelligence in Klopfer's system of interpretation—seems to be very unreliable even among experts (although reliable and valid enough within individual practice), so that the writer's quantitative form-level ratings would not be intelligibly comparable with those of other students. The writer's impression, however, secured from the casual consideration of form level, *W* responses, *M*, *O*, variety of content, and the general "feel" of the records, is that the Tuscarora modal type is innately endowed with about the same degree of intelligence as the "average" white man, but is less inclined to have intellectualistic ambitions, and tends to make less use of his innate capacities than the white man does. He has the same abilities but operates at lower efficiency; he lives less by his wits.

The manner of intellectual approach (Erfassungstyp), as revealed by the distribution of location scores, is the most remarkable single feature of the Tuscarora modal type. The soaring *W* percent of 71.2, accompanied by a minimal *D* percent and *d* percent of 22.8 and 0.8, respectively, and the fact that the *W* responses usually have fairly low form level, are not highly organized, and are simplistic in quality (e. g., "bat," "butterfly," "flower," " a skin"), suggest that the typical Tuscarora sees life and its problems in terms of broad, loose generalities. He thinks with and reacts to stereotypes and preconceptions, rather than to the concrete details of a new situation, and he does not readily adapt his behavior to the peculiar Gestalt of each unique circumstance. The moderate (48.1) *A* percent (*A* percent is another index of stereotypy) is, however, not nearly as significantly high as the *W* percent. An *A* percent of more than 50 might indicate that thought and behavior are stereotyped because the individual has low creative capacities of his own; he has to accept stereotypes. In the Tuscarora case, however, the very high *W* percent in combination with an ordinary *A* percent suggests that the stereotypes are not simply the last resort of the unresourceful, but are used by those whose innate intelligence would make possible a more original manner of approach.

This simple-*W* approach is characteristic of a deductive, perceptually inflexible type of personality, which simply cannot see reality-situations except in terms of some broad, inclusive generality. The modal Tuscarora is not so much rigid in the sense of carefully guarding against a spontaneous reaction to stimuli, as he is rigid by simply subsuming all stimuli into general categories, and deducing what to do from the categorical classification. The rigidity thus comes in the constitution of perception rather than in the regulation of a consequent motor impulse. There is a logical, systematizing tendency, of a purely deductive sort, with no questioning of the usefulness of the assumed categories themselves. This leads to a hollowness of the logic: a difficulty in recognizing changes in the environment except in terms of stereotypes, a difficulty in thinking about one's own behavior as a flexible adaptation to a world which is in constant flux. They are a people who have a cliché to cover every occasion.

The introversion-extroversion balance (Erlebnistyp) is substantially ambiequal ($M : \Sigma C = 1.7 : 1.3$), indicating that insofar as overt and conscious behavior is concerned, the typical Tuscarora can be considered as neither extrovert nor introvert in the Rorschach sense. He spends approximately equal amounts of psychic energy in evaluating and responding to environmental stimuli and to stimuli from within; his conscious libidinal cathexes are approximately equally shared by objects in the external world and by internal "symbols," "complexes," values, fantasies, and so forth. He seeks to solve his problems both by thinking them out and by manipulating his environment, or at least by taking advantage of the opportunities which the environment offers for the satisfaction of his needs.

Underneath, however, there is felt a greater need for introversive behavior than for extratensive. The external world is threatening; he is more secure with himself and his own values. The $(FM+m) : (Fc+c+C')$ ratio is 2.8 : 1.3, indicating that the introversial preoccupations are stronger than overt behavior indicates. The relatively low percentage of responses to the last three cards (31.1 percent) does not suggest that there is any unused reserve of extroversive tendencies. He is living up to the limit of his capacities to handle external reality, but for some reason his inner life is immature. He does not put into play his full capacity for creative thought. From the graph, where $FM > M$, one might infer that the reason for the inhibition of imagination lies in a certain incompleteness in psychosexual development. His introversive thinking is stagnated, it is at an emotional impasse. Inner drives (perhaps dependent and aggressive impulses) are not well integrated with the value-attitude systems; they are not efficiently repressed, but neither are they well sublimated, and they tend to remain suspect to the superego.

The presence of some conflict centering around inadequately integrated motives is evident in the appearance of high *W* percent and of tension indicators (*m*) and indicators of free-floating anxiety (*k* and *K*). The low incidence of *m*, *k*, and *K*, however, suggests that the anxieties are not of pathological dimensions; they are no more than what one might expect in any tolerably well adjusted personality in any society. The chief personality distortion which is attributable to these conflicts is some inhibition of mature, realistic, creative thinking about social behavior, and a concomittant dependence on stereotypes and crudity of response to the outside world.

That the handling of aggression is associated with tension, is indicated in the tendency for *m* to appear in concepts like "atom bomb," "a bullet coming out of a rifle," "explosion." (This kind of aggressive phallic and/or anal symbolism is more frequent and more conspicuous in men than in women.) The conflict is not severe enough to require a really neurotic adjustment, however, nor does it lead to a generalized querulous "pickiness" (there is a low ratio of part to whole concepts) or to obstinacy and contrariness (low *F* percent).

The reaction to the environment of people and things, as it appears on the right side of the graph, shows traces of the strangulated emotional development discussed above. The rareness of clear-cut *FC*, and the constellation *CF*>*FC*, suggests some difficulty in adapting behavior smoothly to external circumstances. There is a readiness to respond, but the techniques for responding do not imply precisely modulated behavior; social response is relatively stereotyped, but not stereotyped in the sense of an elaborate, ceremonious protocol. The stereotype itself is crude and relatively undifferentiated, and the motives behind it are similarly simple and close to primary drives, such as avoidance, aggression, and demand for succor. That the individual feels the inadequacy of his social techniques is indicated by the presence of *C'*, which appears in the Rorschach when external reality exerts a depressing effect on the affective state. In sum, the constellation *CF*>*FC*, *W* percent=71.2, and *FM*>*M* suggests that with a relatively truncated emotional development in which important areas of the personality are relatively undifferentiated and poorly organized, the individual cannot handle external reality except in a relatively crude and direct way. Hence he places great reliance upon certain rules of thumb, which, being presumably common cultural property for everyone, make an adequate social adjustment possible.

There is no indication, however, of any pathological lack of control (*C*=0, *F* percent=37.6) in dealing with the outer world; nor does it appear that the typical Tuscarora is crippled by a fear of people (the ratio of achromatic to bright color responses is 1.9:2.2). He is perhaps a little shy and tends to be "reserved," but he is no lonely

wanderer. Furthermore, he has the saving social grace of some tact and delicacy in responding to social stimuli ($F:Fc=5.1:1.3$, $Fc=1.0$). There is no evidence of color shock in the reaction times, the average for the colored cards being 27.9 seconds and the achromatic, 27.6 seconds. These times, however, are rather slow and suggest a general cautiousness in the perceptual approach to new situations. The number of responses is low (12.8), suggesting once again that the typical Tuscarora is not primarily object-oriented in his libidinal cathexes. On the whole, in spite of the fact that the right side of the graph shows that there is an adequate recognition of the environment as a potential source of gratification and a readiness to make direct use of it, there is evident a certain reluctance and inability to engage in permanent, intimate relationships.

Effective ego control as measured by *F* percent is well below the point at which one suspects a rigid, obsessive-compulsive management of self and environmental objects. Severe repression in the sense of controlling impulse by crude "will power" is not the keynote of the typical Tuscarora personality. Certainly there is very little tendency to become obsessive-compulsive. Rather, the tendency is to regress and depersonalize, to view the world categorically. The low *D* percent and *d* percent bespeaks a lack of concern with detail, an optimistic confidence in the rightness of the total pattern of things. Once again, the high *W* percent may be the outlet.

Ego strength as a function of total personality integration is not maximal. Weaknesses show up in the $FM>M$ and $CF>FC$; in the absence of *FK* (indicating very little striving for insight); in the low $F+$percent and in the moderate *F* percent (which, with the inefficient $FM:M$ and $CF:FC$ ratios suggests a possible incapacity for "muddling through"). These evidences of a failure to achieve maximal ego strength are, of course, consonant with the supposition of psychosexual immaturity. But it should not be inferred that this failure to reach optimal ego development is an immediately threatening weakness; it simply leaves the individual without much capacity for meeting crises with efficient, well-adapted, effective responses.

The data on psychosexual dynamics are not clear and abundant enough in this artificial "quantitative" Rorschach, to make very confident their interpretation. The immaturity evident in $FM>M$ and $CF>C$ would not seem to reside in a fixation on problems of the "anal" stage. Common Rorschach evidences of anal-reactive personality (high *F* percent, high *D* percent and *d* percent, meticulousness in verbalization, high part: whole ratio, high *S* percent) are all lacking.

It has already been suggested that the impulses, the inability to handle which has led to the frustration of maturity, center around

dependency and aggression. There are really three levels of observation to be kept in mind in evaluating the modal record, however. On the top level, corresponding to the nexus of more or less conscious day-by-day adaptive behavior, is the picture of the person who maintains adequate, if not always very efficient, contact with the environment, handling himself and the world in terms of clichés and broad generalizations: a person who can manage well enough in ordinary contexts of job, family, and social recreation, but who does not have much flexibility and originality in meeting crises. On the intermediate level one finds, more or less well suppressed, strong aggressive tendencies, which would seem likely to express themselves from time to time in outbursts of coercive, destructive behavior. On a still lower level, there is a generalized passive, immobile tendency, which is even more carefully suppressed. Viewing the modal personality in ascending levels of availability to consciousness, it would appear that on a very deep level there is a strong undertow toward becoming dependent, toward demanding to be taken care of. Overlying this dependent substratum, which presumably would come into expression only in fantasy or in crisis, there is a hyper*in*dependent, self-sufficient, even aggressive system of attitudes (presumably in part a reaction-formation against the dependency impulses) which is more easily expressed, but which is still not fully accessible to conscious control. The day-by-day, consciously functioning level keeps the subversive elements in their place by fixing attention on stereotypes rather than on real emotions and real situations.

In summary, then, one might describe the Tuscarora modal personality type as displaying: (1) on a basic but presumably largely unconscious level, a strong urge to be allowed to become passive and dependent; (2) a fear of rejection and punishment by the environment and by the self for these demands; (3) a compensatory drive to be hyperindependent, aggressive, self-sufficient; (4) an ultimate incapacity to feel, to adapt, to evaluate the environment realistically, and a concomitant dependence upon categories, stereotypes, and deductive logic.

SUBMODAL TYPES OF TUSCARORA PERSONALITY

The modal personality structure was deduced from an examination of the 26 modal Rorschachs. There are, however, 16 other records which are not different enough from the modal class to justify calling them deviant. Seven cases fit all the criteria of the modal class except for one or two determinants and/or one location category. Nine cases fall within the modal limits for $M : \Sigma C$ and F percent, and probably would have fallen within all determinant and location limits, if R had been within the modal range. These latter records, in other

words, have determinant histograms of proper shape, but excessive area.

It is considered that these additional 16 cases do not represent any definable deviant type or types, and that for the purpose of this study, which is to classify a whole population as simply as possible, generalizations about the modal type approximate them too.

DEVIANT TYPES OF TUSCARORA PERSONALITY

Four deviant classes were established by a somewhat rough-and-ready breakdown. Two of these classes deviate in the $M:\Sigma C$ ratio, one (of eight cases) being introvert ($M:\Sigma C=>5:1$) and one (of one case) being extrovert ($M:\Sigma C=1:>5$); these $M:\Sigma C$ deviants were all modal with respect to F percent. The other two classes are deviant in F percent, one group (of 13) having an excessively high, and the other (of 6) an excessively low, F percent; these F percent deviants were modal with regard to $M:\Sigma C$. (See table 4, below.)

TABLE 4.—*Deviant types of Tuscarora personality*

Types	Male	Female	Total
Modal class:			
Modal in all 21 categories	16	10	26
Submodal class:			
Modal in all categories except 1 or 2 determinants and/or 1 location	3	4	7
Modal in *F* percent and *M*:sum *C* (determinant and location deviations are probably a function of *R* greater than 38)	5	4	9
Deviant in *F* percent:			
F percent greater than 60.5 percent; *M*:sum *C* modal	8	7	15
F percent less than 24.5 percent; *M*:sum *C* modal	2	2	4
Deviant in *M*:sum *C*:			
M:sum *C* greater than 5:1; *F* percent modal	2	6	8
M:sum *C* less than 1:5; *F* percent modal	0	1	1
Total	36	34	70

Evidently Tuscarora society produces more extreme introverts than extreme extroverts, and more people with too much self-control than with too little. Both of the more "popular" deviational tendencies are in the direction of obsessive-compulsive neurotic disorders and schizophrenic psychoses, insofar as $M:\Sigma C$ and F percent are concerned, rather than hysterias and manic-depressive psychoses.

It must be emphasized, however, that the writer does not in any way interpret the personalities of any of these deviant individuals as falling within the diagnostic boundaries of any mental disease, simply because they are not modal and deviate in a certain direction. A complete clinical diagnosis can be made only after an individual becomes so uncomfortable that he seeks medical aid, or after his behavior embarrasses his associates. Such a tool as the Rorschach is useful in elucidating what personality difficulties have probably contributed to the full-fledged behavioral disorder, but it does not assert that only

the clinical case will show the psychological attributes which the clinical case does show.

SEX DIFFERENCES

The procedure of analysis so far has not considered the possibility that personality differences between the sexes may be reflected in the Rorschach data. As a matter of fact, the data do suggest such a difference, as a glance at table 5, below, shows. Within the modal class of 26 records, 61.5 percent are male, although in the sample of 70 as a whole, males comprise only 51.4 percent. Testing the significance of this difference by the critical ratio method, it is found not to be significant at the .05 level of confidence; that is to say, we might expect, if this experiment were repeated, and if the true difference were nil, more often than once in 20 repeats, to find a difference as large as this between the percentages of males and of females in the sample and in the modal class.

TABLE 5.—*Sex differences*

Personality types	Male	Female	Total number
Modal	16	10	26
Submodal (except 3 categories)	3	4	7
Submodal (excessive *R*)	5	4	9
Deviant: high *F* percent	8	7	15
Deviant: low *F* percent	2	2	4
Deviant: *M*:sum *C* less than 1:5 (extro)	0	1	1
Deviant: *M*:sum *C* greater than 5:1 (intro)	2	6	8
Total	36	34	70

Table 5, however, shows that the lower incidence of females in the modal class is empirically associated with a higher incidence of females in the class deviant in $M : \Sigma C$. The $M : \Sigma C$ deviant class further breaks down into introverts and extroverts. There are six female introverts and only two male; and there is one female extrovert. Hence the matter of the female Erlebnistyp remains an open question, and the writer feels that it is more probable than not that Tuscarora women in general really do tend to be more frequently introverted than the men.

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONALITY VARIABLES IN THE ADULT TUSCARORA POPULATION

The Rorschach data suggest, by the method of analysis which has been followed here, certain interesting considerations concerning the way in which personality types are distributed in a sociological population. What the writer has presented in the way of interpretation of the modal type and the several deviant types is not intended to constitute an adequate description of any individual's personality, let

alone a description of the personalities of all of the members of the modal or any other class. He conceives the modal type to be an "ideal," an axis around which revolve, more or less closely, according to individual variation, the "real" personalities. A large proportion of the sample (26 out of 70, or 37.2 percent) produce Rorschach records which in their quantitative aspects cannot be distinguished from one another, at conventional levels of statistical significance, insofar as their relationship to the modal values of the total sample is concerned. Sixteen out of 70 (22.7 percent) produce Rorschachs which differ in various respects but retain the major outlines of the modal type; and 28 out of 70 (40.0 percent) differ significantly in major outline, being subdivided for our purposes into 4 deviant subtypes.

The writer visualizes this distribution as a sort of three-dimensional normal curve, described by a figure shaped somewhat like an inverted saucer (fig. 5). The modal type is represented by the vertical axis of the figure, and is located at the point of maximum height (frequency). The several variables (determinants, locations, and ratios) are measured along the various diameters of the saucer, all passing through the axis, which is the point defined by the average values for the modal class. Any single personality would be described by an irregular two-dimensional projection, the perimeter of which was defined by the scores obtained in each of the 21 variables. While this visual analogy perhaps ought not to be carried through to its logical mathematical consequences, which may involve relationships not inherent in the phenomena, it may serve as a rough description of how the actual personalities are distributed about the modal or axial type.

Inasmuch as the frequency distribution of most of the categories is anything but symmetrical (usually they are J-curves, or skewed and truncated), it is obvious that the empirical data do not acually fit this hypothetical saucer. The failure of Rorschach scores to distribute themselves symmetrically is, of course, irrelevant from the standpoint of individual scoring and interpretation, which does not have to take ideal curves into consideration. On the other hand, it seems arbitrary to assume that all individuals who give 0*M* are identical in their incapacity to produce *M*. Failure to produce 1*M* in response to this particular series of ink-blots does not necessarily mean an absolute absence of the capacity to see humanlike action in ink-blot figures.[28] The people who give 0*M* constitute a large class whose *M* capacity is not measured at all by the Rorschach test but is subliminal to it. For

[28] That professional Rorschach workers recognize that a zero score is not an adequate measure of the variable is evidenced by the use of the testing-the-limits period (see Klopfer, 1946) and of supplementary devices (like the Levy Movement Blots) for the elucidation of human movement concepts (see Schachtel, 1950). Schachtel says on this point (p. 97): "Rorschach mentions that giving no *M* responses is only a relative measure of the capacity for kinesthetic perception, since the seeing of movement purposely has

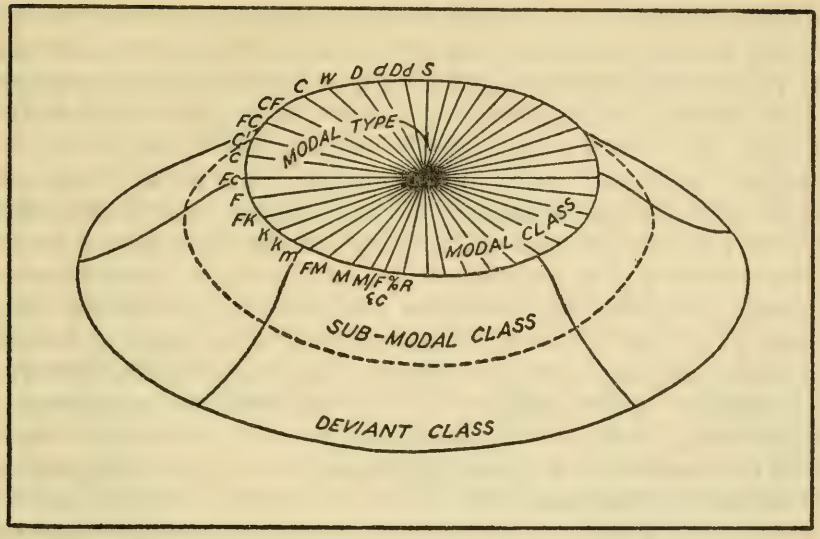

FIGURE 5.—The "saucer" distribution of personality variables.

practical clinical purposes in Western society, it may be that an inability to produce even 1*M* on the Rorschach is sufficient for most diagnostic purposes, but the clinician is still left with the problem of the differential interpretation of cases of 0*M*. By adding another 10 cards (and the writer is *not* suggesting that this should be done!) some of which resembled active human figures even more closely than, say, Card 3, many individuals who have given 0*M* on the Standard Rorschach would be found to give one or more *M* on the expanded series. In other words, the Rorschach test is so constructed that it does not measure the *M* capacities of people below a certain point; it simply lumps all *M* capacities below that point in a subliminal group. It is as if one could only measure peoples' heights in multiples of 5 feet. Midgets would simply be "invisible" in such a system of measurement.

The J-curve itself, which many of the distributions describe, and which has achieved considerable reputation in the "J-curve hypothesis of conforming behavior," might be adduced here in defense of the adequacy of the obtained measures. But the J-curve can be a tricky statistical device. Any phenomenon which is "really" normally distributed can be arranged in the form of a J-curve if one lumps together a sufficiently large number of cases toward one extreme as having in common the property of failing to pass or of exceeding a

been made somewhat difficult in his ink blots. Most people who do not give *M* responses in Rorschach's test see human movement in the Levy Movement Blots in which kinesthetic perception has been facilitated by the design of the blots and by the task given to the subject in which he is asked to say what the figures on the blots are doing. Thus the absence of *M* does not mean that the person without *M* lacks the capacity for empathic projection and for creative experience."

certain criterion value. Where the phenomenon is such (as, for instance, in overtime parking time) that an absolute lower limit not only can be imagined but is actually reached in measurements of equal class interval, J-curve may be an accurate description of the distribution. But where varying kinds and degrees of conformity are lumped together as "conforming" to rule, and only deviations (in one linear direction) are measured and counted, one indeed often does find that more people conform than not, but one does not have a complete frequency distribution. As far as Rorschach scores are concerned, where one does not have a rule to which to conform, where there is no "telic continuum," interpretation of an apparent J-curve as being significant in the light of the "J-curve hypothesis of conforming behavior" is not justified. Allport specifies three conditions of applicability of the J-curve hypothesis, one of which is that "there must be some kind of law, rule, regulation, or code, in the language of which one may find stated the 'proper' or required mode of behavior by which this purpose is to be achieved." As Allport says, only the satisfaction of this, along with the other two conditions, will answer the objection "that we have not extended our records far enough on the left" (Allport, 1934, p. 62). Rorschach data are not the kind for which the J-curve hypothesis was designed.

Thus it is here argued that the capacities represented by the various Rorschach scoring symbols are in any population distributed on two-sided, bell-shaped, essentially symmetrical (possibly normal) curves, and that if a "better" Rorschach test were available, this fact would be apparent. Hence the saucer distribution actually depicts the probable distribution of capacities, rather than the actual distribution of raw scores (submodal scores being unrecognizable, for instance, when the mode itself is zero).

In order to further conceptualize this saucer distribution, it should also be pointed out that the distribution of scores represented by it are not raw scores but standard scores, expressed in terms of standard deviation units from the average scores of the modal class. The use of standard scores will make the various diameters nearly equivalent. But even with all the conceptual pushing and pulling we have already done, perfectly symmetrical bell curves are still not likely really to exist. We must expect that our saucer will always have lumps and dents, here and there, caused by skewed distributions. It is a hand-made saucer, not a machine-perfect product!

It is notable that fully 40 percent of the adult population possess personalities which are distinctly not "typical" Tuscarora. It would at this point be pertinent to ask, although the question is momentarily unanswerable, whether other communities on investigation would

show a similar proportion of statistically deviant individuals. On a priori grounds, in some societies, one might even expect a larger proportion of statistical deviants. In many ways, the Tuscarora can be regarded as a very small, homogeneous society in which change is not proceeding at different rates or on different levels for several geographical or socioeconomic classes. More complex societies, or populations classifiable as units of study by some other criterion than social integration (e. g., linguistic dialect), may very well be found to be more variable.

The apparently high incidence of statistical deviancy among the Tuscarora is not to be taken at face value. The "deviant" class, as was explained above, actually includes four major groups; and these deviant groups are very loosely defined. The largest single deviant group (the 13 records with F percent greater than 60.5) make up only 18.6 percent of the total sample—just half the number of those within the modal type. The modal type still retains its title as the most frequent single personality type identifiable within the total sample.

In evaluating the significance of deviancy, it must again be emphasized that deviation in personality structure is consonant with full participation in social activities and with efficient utilization of the culture for the satisfaction of needs. The use of the word "deviant" to describe nonmodal personality types does not in any way imply "neurotic," "asocial," "maladjusted," or any other adjective connoting the square-peg-in-round-hole phenomenon. The one psychotic, indeed (hospital diagnosis: paranoid schizophrenia), included in the adult sample, falls into one of the deviant groups (F percent$>$60.5). But since adventitious situational factors in adult life, however, would play some part in producing severe personal discomfort or even a clinically recognizable disorder, it might be expected that even a few modal (in Rorschah behavior) individuals would show traces of psychopathology in their social behavior, in spite of their essential modality in the major structure of personality. Deviant individuals would, on a priori grounds, seem more *likely* to include both the best adjusted and worst adjusted individuals. This study has not included, however, any systematic investigation of the distribution of levels of adjustment.

The one extreme extrovert in the whole adult sample ($M:\Sigma C=1:7$) is a middle-aged woman. She is a clan mother, is widely respected and liked, and is even something of a social leader. Her house is a popular meeting place for various social occasions: club meetings, parties, receptions. Whether she is completely happy, is to be doubted; both her Rorschach and her interpersonal behavior show signs of strain. The point is, however, that she has functioned suc-

cessfully during most of her life in a society which would superficially seem to be most uncongenial.[29]

Another deviant case (F percent$>$60.5) is an old man who is widely respected as an herbalist and is personally well liked by most of the community, although he is feared by some who think he is a witch. His Rorschach shows in him the presence of enormous hostility; he has definite obsessive-compulsive characteristics. But his personality difficulties do not cripple him. He has been able to sublimate much of his aggression in his herbal practice, which enables him to heal those whom in his fantasies he has killed; his life is a never-ending search for an herb, a sure cure for tuberculosis, which was revealed to him in a dream.

Thus Tuscarora culture provides ways of behavior which are usable not only by modal types but also by a wide range of deviants; certain specialized roles are made-to-order safety valves for persons who are "dangerously" deviant. These deviants can behave in a manner congenial to their personalities, and at the same time in a fashion which is well adjusted to the functioning of the whole social system. A society produces not only deviant personality types, but provides socially tolerable patterns of behavior for them.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MODAL PERSONALITY, NATIONAL CHARACTER, AND CULTURE PATTERN

Modal personality, as it has been here defined and conceived, is a strictly psychological phenomenon; insofar as one conceives of national character as psychological, it approximates that concept. Thus one may approach the problem of relationship of modal personality to national character and to culture pattern separately. The writer will discuss: (1) The relationship of modal personality to other indices of national character (conceived as a psychological phenomenon); (2) the relationship of modal personality to culture.

Personality can be, and will be here, regarded as the techniques actually employed by the individual, whether consciously or no, in solving his problems. These techniques range from such things as his way of meeting authority-figures to his recipe for mixing paint.

[29] This case is interesting because of its implications for definitions of "abnormality." The woman is highly deviant in her introversion-extroversion balance, in relation to the Tuscarora modal type, and it would seem that the temper of Tuscarora culture would not be congenial to her; yet she functions well. Perhaps Benedict has here again over-emphasized the dependency of personality on culture in conceiving the "abnormals" as the ones "whose congenial responses fall in that arc of behavior which is not capitalized by their culture." (Benedict, 1934, p. 258.) It would seem that people with widely differing personalities can within certain limits use the same culture—for different purposes, perhaps—and thereby play successful and rewarding roles. This is presumably owing to the actual variability of life situations made possible both by cultural alternatives, by varying combinations of interpersonal behavior and cultural prescriptions, and by accidental circumstances.

Usually only the more generalized techniques are considered. Personality is an attribute of the individual.

When one wishes to define a national character, the technical problem is to discover the aspects of personality which are most frequently shared by the various, variable members of a society. (Society is here operationally defined as a population with one relatively homogeneous culture, thus avoiding the problem of subcultures corresponding to class, caste, occupation, etc.; status personalities, conceived as personality-clusters correlated with special subcultural roles, are the modal personalities of subsocieties.) It is important to emphasize that the specific technique used to discover the common elements will determine the frequency of occurence of the modal type, and also the characteristics which it includes, for the following reasons:

There are what may be called levels of specificity in the description of personality, which affect the frequency of the modal class. Thus one may broadly characterize a person as "introverted." Or one may go on to describe other attributes and measure other variables. If one has a sample of 70 individuals, one may proceed to describe and measure each personality in such detail that, even setting up, as the writer did, a range for each variable within which differences are not considered to be significant, no individual will fall into the same class with another. Obviously every personality is different from every other, but it would defeat the purpose of national character studies to analyze each personality so intensively that no most-frequent classification could be made. Thus the frequency of the modal class in the Tuscarora sample (37.2 percent) is a direct function of the number and kind of scoring elements taken as criteria. The addition of more elements (which certainly could be done, since a number of diagnostically significant variables were omitted; e. g., number of cards rejected, and the "qualitative" features) would reduce the frequency of the modal class, as well as defining it more precisely, while a reduction in the number of elements would increase the frequency, but would make the interpretation less specific.

Another technical problem affecting the frequency of the modal group and the specificity of its description is the width of the confidence limits. In this study, for reasons given earlier, they were set at two standard deviations apart. They could, however, be set closer or farther apart. What is involved here is the fineness of discrimination. Whether one uses statistical criteria of discrimination, or depends upon intuitive impression of similarity and difference, the relative grossness or fineness of discrimination affects both the frequency of the modal group (the finer the discrimination, the smaller the modal group) and the specificity of description.

In addition to the afore-mentioned factors, which affect the frequency of the modal class and the level of specificity used in its characterization, the choice of conceptual scheme and mode of observation will affect the nature of the interpretation, although not necessarily its direction. A description of Tuscarora modal personality in terms of the Rorschach test will be a different description from one couched in strictly psychoanalytic concepts: there will presumably be no contradiction (if the sampling is comparable and if both interpretations are valid), but different things will be talked about, points of emphasis may be different. Choice of which conceptual scheme, which test, which vocabulary to use is pretty much a matter of convenience within the structure of the investigation. It is not claimed that Rorschach is *the* way to describe personality; it is a way with some virtues not possessed by others—particularly, its comprehensive view of personality, and its amenability to large sampling and statistical treatment.

Keeping the foregoing considerations in mind, it is possible to evaluate the comparability of the writer's description of Tuscarora modal personality with other indices of national character. Most such outlines of national character are made on a lower level of specificity and discrimination than has been attempted here, but with assumptions of very high frequency of the modal type. These outlines range from the almost monistic description of the Kwakiutl as a megalomaniacal paranoid (Benedict, 1934) to the sort of analysis done by Kardiner (1939, 1945), which is more specific and complex, with finer discrimination and a lower frequency of modal individuals implied, but still assuming that deviations are pathological or semipathological. There are virtues in all the various levels of specificity and of discrimination. By taking one attribute, as Benedict does, and working out in detail its multifarious cultural expressions, one gains a nice feeling for the importance of this one element. On the other hand, a more analytical, specific, discriminating technique, such as that used here, while it loses the advantage of simple over-all characterization, has also the advantage of permitting a study of the function not only of the "master trait," if one may use the term to denote what one gets at the lowest level of specificity and discrimination and highest level of frequency, but also of the distribution of personality types.

The "master trait" for the Tuscarora, in Rorschach terms, is probably the high *W*. Fully 60 individuals out of the sample of 70 (86 percent) have a *W*-score which is not reliably distinguishable, at the stated confidence limits, from the modal *W*-score of 9 (which is a high *W*-score). Only 3 of the 10 individuals who are deviant in *W* have *W* so low that it can be reliably distinguished; the rest are even higher than the modal range. Thus there are really only 3 individuals in

the whole sample to whom the general interpretation, expressed in the discussion of the modal group, of the significance of high *W* can definitely be said not to apply; to 67 out of the 70 (96 percent) the interpretation of stereotypy and the cliché approach probably does apply. This is as high an incidence of any given trait as an investigator is likely to find in any population. But, when the trait of high *W* is considered in its Gestalt with other factors cumulatively, the frequency of the most frequent combination drops continuously until, when all 21 of the factors chosen for this study are taken into account, it stands at only 37 percent.

Is the ethnographer's description of culture so dependent upon statistical technique as is the description of national character? (Even when no statistic is quoted, a statement like, "The Dobuans are . . ." is conceptually a statistical description because what is meant is, "With the exception of a few cases which I will not bother to enumerate, all the Dobuans I know of fall within a narrow range of variability which I call . . .") The writer feels that it is not. Culture, in distinction to personality, does not have its locus in the individual; it is an attribute of a society. Culture can be regarded, and has been here regarded, as those techniques for solving problems which are recognized and sanctioned, in the opinion of some members of the society, by some segment of that society. Not every member of a society needs to know, or use, all of the techniques. And not all of the problems for which the personality provides solution have culturally sanctioned techniques of resolution. Where the society is a small, face-to-face, homogeneous population, culture too is relatively homogeneous, and one can speak of "the culture" of the society without constantly qualifying "the culture" with specification of alternatives or even of subcultural systems.

When the problem-solving technique in use by a personality is indistinguishable from the technique sanctioned by the society, the congruity of culture and personality is, of course, evident. This would seem, a priori, to be most likely in the case of those personality-techniques (traits, characteristics, syndromes) which are most frequent. The less frequent a personality trait in the population, the less likely it is to be demonstrably correlated with a cultural prescription (except, of course, in a complex society with subcultural systems). One may infer then that the "master-traits," which are most frequently, and almost universally, found in the population will have the closest and most evident correlation with culture, and that the lower the level of specificity and of discrimination, the easier it will be to make correlations between culture and the modal personality type. Thus it should be much easier to discuss the cultural evidences of stereotypy, which is a "master-trait" for the Tuscarora, than of

the more specific modal type as it has been described, which is approximated by only a part of the population. In the following discussion of the relationship of the Tuscarora modal personality type and the culture pattern, the high *W*, which is a "master-trait" and, of course, is also important in the modal type itself, accordingly receives major emphasis.

The most dramatic single characteristic of the modal Tuscarora personality, as revealed by the Rorschach, was the great tendency to depend upon a simplistic, stereotyped, deductive, cliché cast of thought. Is there anything in the culture which has been, or could be, called a reflection of this?[30] There is: the common use of categories like "enemy," "helper," "the swamp," "off the reservation," "the clearing." The modal Tuscarora is provided by his society with a series of these simple stereotypes, by which large areas of his experience are characterized. He reacts to these stereotypes, sometimes, with behavior which is so highly charged with affect that the outside observer is amazed at both the intensity of the emotion and the lack of consideration of the actual complexities of the situation. The State of New York, for instance, is labeled by almost everyone with the "enemy" stereotype. Seen through the lens of the stereotype, nothing which the State does in relation to the Tuscarora is regarded as good. "If the State does it, it must be bad." This attitude is carried to such extremes that the writer has heard responsible leaders of the community seriously suggest that the macadam roads (built at State expense without cost to the Indians) be torn up, that the telephone lines be torn down, and that all the children be kept away from State-supported schools, for fear that the State will some day adduce these services as an argument for taxing Indian land. This suggestion also involves the existence of another stereotype: "off the reservation." There is not adequate realization of the almost complete economic dependence of the reservation upon the surrounding White community. The Federal Government, on the other hand, is "the helper": it can be solicited for unlimited support, in funds, legal aid, praise, and protection from New York State.

The distinctiveness of the modal Tuscarora lies not so much in the fact that they have social stereotypes—every society does—but in the extent to which everyday behavior is motivated by reactions to the stereotype rather than to details of the "real" situation. The importance of these stereotypes for the individual's psychic economy has been stressed earlier. It is pertinent here to observe how this stereo-

[30] It would be interesting to speculate at length upon the Tuscarora's past, making the unprovable assumption that the modal personality type was much the same then as now. One might then interpret the loosely systematizing, league-making, litigating quality of Tuscarora life in the Carolina days as the expression of the categorical approach. But this study is concerned chiefly with the people and culture of the present.

typy affects the behavior of the modal Tuscarora to one another.

Virtually all intracommunity social relationships are based on the sharing by the individuals concerned of a mutual stereotype with regard to each other, the "helper" stereotype. Theoretically, "enemies" only exist off the reservation, or at the closest, in the swamp. This means—theoretically—that the only relationship between modal Tuscarora is that of "helper." No culturally approved mechanisms exist for the expression by adults of intracommunity hostility. There are no political campaigns, no public debates, no organized opposition; requests are not publicly refused; economic competition is despised. The community thus (by cultural definition) is a corporation of mutually helpful individuals who aid one another on all occasions.

Since no culturally sanctioned mechanisms for intracommunity aggression are provided, however, there are also no mechanisms for the bridging of schisms. Once a quarrel begins, there is nothing to do about it. In our society, we are all highly conscious of the complex system which functions to reduce or to organize hostilities. We even regard some forms of aggression (e. g., economic competition) as desirable. We readily conceive of two political parties busily libeling each other over domestic issues, yet substantially united on foreign policy. At Tuscarora, when a faction arises (whether over who is the band leader or over who is the proper sachem chief of the Turtle Clan), it drags on until the principals die and the rest of the community loses interest. Decisions on group action are expected to be unanimous; when there is no agreement, there is no mechanism for corporate action. This schismatic tendency has undoubtedly facilitated the remarkably frequent buddings of Tuscarora society: the splittings in North Carolina, and the final division into the Grand River and Niagara bands.

The concept of "helper," which constitutes one of the most important stereotypes, is important from another standpoint, however. The relationship to the "helper" implies the dependency attitudes which in the Rorschach interpretation were suggested to be an underlying motif. The relatively rich development of social institutions at Tuscarora means, in psychological terms, that the individual is able to satisfy many of his needs by behavior which involves stimulating another person to act in such a way that the first person's needs are satisfied. With his intense dependency motives, the individual has to be provided with culturally patterned ways of unconsciously setting up a dependent relationship to others. Adoption of orphans or deserted children; sharing of food, housing, equipment; leaving wife and children and going home to mother; demanding succor from the Government; appealing to the council for a piece of National Land; clamoring for retribution from the State; attending feasts and parties

at which presents are always distributed—all these are mechanisms by which one may relate oneself in a dependent way to others. Interdependence readily regresses to dependency. Since these patterns could not be implemented unless the population had a modal personality type in which such dependent interpersonal relations were strongly felt as a need, the maintenance of the functional integrity of this cultural system is contingent upon the existence of the appropriate personality type.

The "enemy" as a stereotype implies the existence of hostilities. The Rorschach intimated the presence of aggressive motives which were not well integrated into the rest of the personality; the aggressions were apparently half-repressed, half-displaced, or projected. The culture provides several techniques for handling aggression. Thus, a few patterns, which utilize the "enemy" stereotype, channel aggressions outside of the community. Sports, especially lacrosse; joining the white man's military ventures; those mythological themes in which the aggressive motives are entertained by and against alternaturals of the forest and the swamp; historical narratives of war and bloodshed—these permit the bleeding off of aggressions in a fashion which does not disrupt the nice network of intracommunity dependency patterns. The Baptist Church, on the other hand, is a repressing mechanism which does indeed support the dependency attitudes to some extent, but which makes the mere awareness of aggression a threatening experience. Liquor, which can be regarded as both a sort of oral regression under frustration and as a mechanism for releasing inhibitions against aggression, is bitterly opposed by the church, so that the mere act of drinking becomes an aggressive flouting of the religious sentiments of the community. Open aggression under liquor is often an intracommunity phenomenon. Thus liquor acts at cross-purposes to the other techniques for aggression control. The old aboriginal means of handling the aggression problem—the scalping raid and the torture stake—are, of course, no longer part of the culture; and witchcraft, while still believed in, is denied and disallowed.

The extroversive capacity of the Tuscarora, as indicated in the Rorschachs, is moderately high. It makes possible the expression of some overt aggression and the proliferation of cultural patterns which require interpersonal relationships. But, as the Rorschach also indicated, there is a strong introversive undertow, which is probably reflected in the shallowness of affect expressed (if not felt) in interpersonal relationships. For instance, in the summertime there is a fast round of picnics and field days, which the Indians regularly attend. To a white visitor, however, these occasions appear to be most desultory: the picnic park will be almost silent, although perhaps 200 people are there; people come, sit down, walk about, chat quietly

with friends, eat hamburgers, watch a softball game for a few innings and yet everyone will stay till midnight! There is none of the noise and confusion, the heated arguments and ecstatic reunions, of white festivities. It is as though the Indians wanted desperately to be with other people, but were very, very cautious about involving themselves in a too-intense, and therefore potentially too-frustrating, emotional relationship. Thus the field day itself, with its loose protocol of events, becomes a stereotyped way of relating oneself to people without risking a too-close approach. It is a symbol of social intercourse rather than the real thing, in the White sense of the term. The brittleness of sexual relationships, too, is an indication of the discomfort an Indian feels when emotional barriers are broken down. It is the writer's impression that the Indians themselves are dimly aware that they tend to become too dependent when they are thrown too intimately into contact with possible helpers, and fear both the probable rejection and the enormous aggression which rejection arouses; therefore they try to preserve an offhand, impervious manner in their dealings with particular individuals.

The brittleness of sexual relations also would seem to reflect the uneasiness and only partial acceptance of genital urges which was indicated in the Rorschachs. Genitality remains on a "phallic" level. The emotionally reserved spouse hangs onto his superficial ideal of independence. A high-flown romantic love, conceptualized in terms of the movie magazines and true-love stories which are popularly read, will in many cases suddenly disintegrate, one party deserting the other almost without warning, and with the other party quickly following suit. These romantic disappointments, however, rarely lead to serious quarrels, or to mayhem or murder.

The Rorschach indicated an adequate degree of ego-control, but not enough to withstand heavy pressure. The individual characteristically does not solve his problems by employing carefully controlled, subtly modulated behavior to manipulate the unique elements of each successive situation. The usual cycle of behavior is an initial hyper-independence, followed by an approach to dependency, more or less cautious and directed toward the stereotype rather than the unique situation (as the writer would define it). If this approach is successful, it is repeated. If and when it is rebuffed, however, the reaction to frustration is rather disorganized. In extreme cases (presumably where a nonmodal personality is involved) the rejected person leaves the reservation or commits suicide. More normally, however, one of three reactions is to be observed: sulking and disgruntled withdrawal; displacement of the hostility onto the "enemy" stereotype; and drinking, in the course of which aggression is expressed either implicitly in

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the drinking itself, or explicitly by verbal abuse and brawling. What is rarely observed after frustration is a direct outburst of aggression against the frustrating agent, or a new approach leading to reconciliation and a dependent relationship on a different level, or a simple abandonment of the whole problem and independent striking out for the desired goal. The self-dependent, self-made, rationally ambitious person who takes care of himself is rarely found; "independent" behavior is sporadic—refusal to accept a free ride, an insistence on paying for the beer, an irresponsible binge.

Thus the cultural techniques provided for the modal personality always involve initial interaction with other people in terms of the "helper" stereotype; frustration leads to introversive withdrawal, irresponsible independence, and finally perhaps a catastrophic response (suicide, alcoholism, open but disorganized aggression), unless the individual is able to bleed off his hostilities in attacks upon an enemy (e. g., in lacrosse or war). Adequate repression and adequate sublimation are both beyond the scope of the modal personality. The culture is relatively rich in mechanisms for interpersonal dependence, but poor in mechanisms for handling aggression in terms of intracommunity, interpersonal relations; hence the proliferation of displacement channels such as lacrosse, political negotiations with the State of New York, and military life.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ROLES OF PERSONALITY TYPES IN THE TUSCARORA POPULATION

The observed great variability in personality of the members of Tuscarora society makes it difficult to cover all individuals with the same psychological formula; not even the "master-trait" of stereotypy and the cliché approach applies to everyone. Considerations of the relationship of culture to personality, and of the necessary deficiency of the cultural-deductive technique, have led the writer to argue in favor of frankly accepting the fact of variability, and phrasing descriptions of Tuscarora personality in terms of a modal type and of deviations from that type. Even the method of averaging fails to take account of variability. Averaging-in separate factors from a Rorschach sample of a sociological community would be methodologically analogous to averaging the Rorschachs of "neurotics" (including let us say, obsessive-compulsives, conversion hysterias, and anxiety states) in order to get a composite profile of "neurosis."

Although the modal technique does deal with the problem of intragroup variability, it does not automatically solve it. There are dangers and deficiencies in the modal technique too: perhaps its most serious pitfall is its own chief virtue: the modal type does not characterize everyone in a society, yet the temptation will be to assume that

it does. The modal personality type is identified on the major criterion of frequency. It is the most frequently approximated type, but it is not necessarily the only identifiable type; and it makes no statement about the sociological role of the members of the modal class.

Let us assume that we apply the modal technique to a different society from Tuscarora—a class-structured African kingdom, for instance. If we take a nicely proportional sample, representative of both sexes, age groups, commoners, priests, members of the royal family, soldiers, "Amazons," etc., we will very probably find that the modal class is largely composed of the common people. If (and the writer does not know whether such is the case) notable and consistent psychological differences obtain between noble and commoner, identifiable by the Rorschach, the nobility will not appear in the modal class at all—they will be statistically deviant. Yet if one wished to predict Dahomeyan foreign policy from a knowledge of culture and of national character, knowledge of the personality type of the deviant nobility might be more important than knowing that of the modal commoners. Thus a numerically minor group, with a special personality type, may play a disproportionately important social role as determiners of certain classes of events.

For practical purposes, it would seem that when dealing with a complex society (like Dahomey, or the United States, for that matter) the technique here described for deriving the modal personality by the use of the Rorschach technique should be applied to relatively homogeneous elements of the population, identified by the possession of definable subcultures. Presumably major separation lines or isoglosses might be made by taking into account such factors as socioeconomic class, sex, age, geographic location, occupational status, and perhaps others. The particular factors would depend partly on the nature of the problem. In general, this sort of analysis is meaningful only for a group of people in which there are no gross and consistent cultural differences which affect personality formation. For each of these subcultures there could be defined a modal personality, which would correspond more or less to the "status personality" as defined by Linton (1936, 1949).

The problem of polymodal distributions cannot be avoided by averaging, which would merely lump king and commoner together to form a hybrid representative of neither, and probably not representative of the society as a whole either. One could not judge the likelihood of a nation's making war, for instance, by averaging the degree of hostility of all the citizens of the country. The modal attitude might be pacifist; but the social structure might be such as to permit a few militarists to initiate a sequence of events culminating in warfare. Prediction (which is the test of any theoretical pudding)

could only be made by describing the modal personality types of the various subsocieties, and stating their respective social roles in the larger structure. In dealing, not with a single attitude capable of representation on a linear continuum, but with a complex integration of elements like personality, averaging would be even less useful.

Even within a homogeneous society, however, there will be found a wide range of variation in personality which is not ascribable to statuses which could not be separated in the sampling. Tuscarora is a case in point. Tuscarora is as nearly a homogeneous society as a field worker is likely to find in the United States. Such status differences as appear are not the product of caste, class, or semihereditary occupational role, but are largely the result of individual specialization made in response to factors unassociated with institutional barriers. Sex indeed is a criterion of major status difference, and we have already noted that there are slight personality differences identifiable in the Rorschach ascribable to it; ideally there should be computed a separate modal personality for both men and women. But the range of variation is wide for both men and women: only 29.4 percent of the women, and 44.4 percent of the men, 37.2 percent of men and women combined, fall into the modal class. Age groups likewise are widely distributed.

In the Tuscarora sample, because only 70 adults are represented, sex and age categories were mixed together. The writer has already suggested that women probably tend more frequently to be introverted, and less often to express overt aggressive feelings; if a separate modal profile were composed for each sex, the modal women would appear to be slightly different from the males. This presumably is a reflection of differences in formative experience and in adult status, with the men being able to express their hostilities more freely and to find a wider scope for their lives outside of the clearing, while the women, relatively fixed to home and hearth, are forced in upon themselves.

Age grades do not seem to have any correlation at all with personality structure above the age of 16. (See table 6.) The proportion of the various age classes in the modal class are not significantly different from those in the sample. The deviant groups likewise each contain a wide range of age classes. There is not, among adults, any noticeable association between age and personality type; and certainly the modal class was not selected because it was the most populous age group.

Are there any elements of social role more common in the modal class than in the other deviant classes, beyond the already noted sex-role difference? From an admittedly sketchy knowledge of the community (and, actually, to his own surprise), the writer can find no

one thing which especially distinguishes the modal class sociologically from the various deviant classes (excepting perhaps the group of high-*F* percent males). In correspondence with the gradation of ages, among the men there are 2 high-school students; 4 mature family men who work regularly, 2 of them on high steel, 1 in an office, and 1 as a carpenter; 9 unmarried men of varying ages who do various kinds of manual labor, but are not regularly employed; and one semi-invalid, aged 66 (the oldest man in the modal group), who has been a chief. The 10 modal women include 6 married women who do housework and 4 unmarried women, 2 of whom do housework, 1 of whom is a nurse, and another a college student; 1 of the married women is a clan mother. Two of the unmarried men are notorious alcoholics; one of the unmarried women is considered "peculiar" by the community. Each of the 26 stands out in the writer's mind as a distinct personality, with his own way of relating to people, his own home, job, mannerisms, style of talk, and personal problems. The description of the modal personality type is, of course, not aimed at distinguishing them; their Rorschachs, separately interpreted, mark them out as different. The modal type, as defined earlier, does define a certain norm which they all do recognizably approximate in various ways and in various degrees.

TABLE 6.—*The comparative distribution of Tuscarora age groups in the modal class and in the total sample*

Age group	Number in total sample	Percent in total sample	Number modal class	Number expected in modal class if proportions were same as in total sample
16–20	12	17	3	4
21–25	10	14	5	4
26–30	10	14	6	4
31–40	9	13	3	3
41–50	11	16	3	4
51–60	8	11	3	3
61–70	7	10	2	3
71–	3	4	1	1

Chi-square: 2.08.
P: 0.95.

Any adequate investigation of the actual similarities and differences between each of the 26, and with respect to the modal type itself, would require a separate study, in which the individual Rorschachs (and other psychological data) were evaluated, the specific social role of each person defined, his genetic background and physical constitution assessed, and his own special life situation understood. Such an investigation would have to deal also with the probability that a few individuals have slipped into the modal class by "mistake" because of the not-perfect reliability of the Rorschach, adventitious situational

circumstances, and the imperfect discrimination possible in this kind of quantitative treatment.

The only deviant group (high *F* percent, indicating a rigid, constricted, Ojibwa-like personality) which seems to correlate to some degree with sociological distinctions, includes eight men. The 2 herb doctors in the sample of 70 fall into this group, as does also the hospitalized case of paranoid schizophrenia; an aged hermit who is regarded as an anomaly by the community; one man who came spontaneously to the house to take a Rorschach while he was drunk; a young man with reputed mechanical genius who has joined the army; and 2 men—1 an automobile mechanic, the other a boiler-tender—who are more shy and retiring, and also more mechanically inclined, than most other Tuscarora. While all (except the hospital case) are well enough adjusted to life in Tuscarora society, they (like perhaps the modal Ojibwa) avoid too-close and continuous relationships with people, and relate themselves rather to nonhuman objects (plants and machinery). Their social roles are, however, highly individualized, rather than functions of a definable common status.

The reason for the absence of any very noticeable correlation between the modal and deviant types, and social status, probably lies in the fact that Tuscarora is not a class-stratified society, and has no racial or regional subsocieties. With a relatively homogeneous, equalitarian culture, and a low degree of predictability of the status of any individual at birth, the variations in personality (other than sex-differences) are probably functions of "accidental" differences in the formative experiences of individuals. That there is a central tendency at all, and the point at which it falls, is no doubt a function of the culture.

THE COMPARISON OF TUSCARORA AND OJIBWA MODAL PERSONALITIES

THE COMPARABILITY OF THE TUSCARORA AND OJIBWA RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

In this comparison of Tuscarora and Ojibwa modal personality, it is desired to demonstrate only such psychological differences as are a function of differences between Tuscarora and Ojibwa culture. This requires that the influence of such other factors as "race," the distribution of age-sex classes in the two populations, and the procedures of the investigation itself, be controlled or at least independently assayed. With regard to race, climate, and geography, which at one time or another have been considered to be important psychological determinants, the writer has assumed, on the basis of current theory about their relevance to the subject of personality, that they can be safely

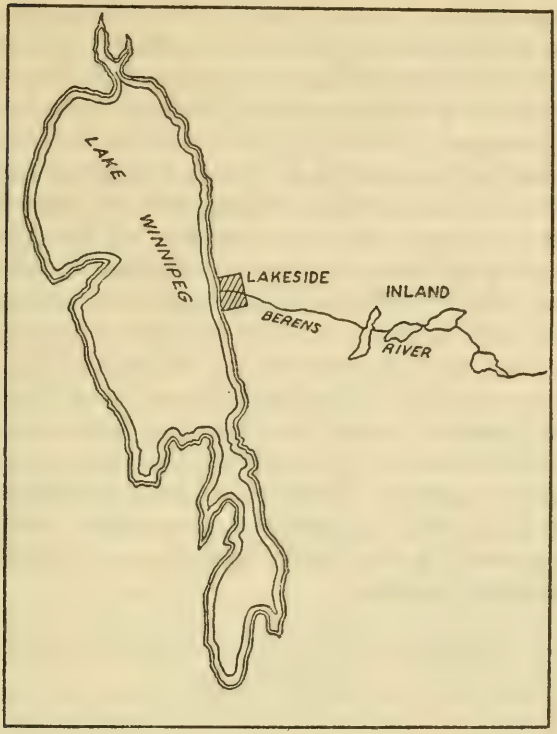

FIGURE 6.—Map of the Lake Winnipeg region (after Hallowell, 1936).

disregarded as directly determinant of personality. They may indeed play a role in the complex matrix of determinants which produces personality; but they operate only through the mediation of culture. Thus it is assumed that the concept of culture (as used here) is catholic enough to embrace the indirect influences or limitations imposed upon cultural behavior by extracultural variables.

More relevant to the inquiry is the possibility that apparent differences (or similarities) may be due, not to differences inherent in the people taking the test, but to vagaries of sampling, administration, and scoring, which influence or bias the data so as to give the impression of differences (or similarities) which do not really exist, and which would not be discovered if completely valid and reliable testing procedures were used. This boils down to the question: "Are the Rorschach protocols collected by Dr. Hallowell and the writer properly comparable sets of data?"

The sampling of the Ojibwa population could not be as carefully controlled as was that of the Tuscarora. Because of the nature of the culture, the Ojibwa population east of Lake Winnipeg is scattered geographically over a large area. Individuals from six separate

bands, arranged along a steep gradient of acculturation, are represented in the sample; the total population of those six bands is probably about two thousand. Eighty-one percent of the sample comes from two bands along the Berens River, whose combined population is about 612 (504 aged 7 and up). An ethnographer's census of the kind completed by the writer at Tuscarora was manifestly impossible for the Ojibwa in their condition of geographical dispersion. Hence it is difficult to estimate the approximation of the Ojibwa sample statistics to the population parameters. Hallowell's tables indicate, however, that a fairly well distributed random sample was probably obtained (see table 7, below). Since the Ojibwa sample is numerically larger than the Tuscarora one, the writer initially hoped to be able to abstract from the Ojibwa records a series of 70 which exactly matched the Tuscarora in age-sex categories; but this proved to be impossible because the Ojibwa sample simply had too few representatives in certain categories. Furthermore, such matching might have glossed over differences in population parameters which were culturally determined. It was finally decided to use the whole Ojibwa adult sample of 102 records.

TABLE 7.—*The sampling of the Ojibwa population by age, sex, and locality*

A: THE SAMPLE

Age group	Male			Female			Male and female combined total
	Lakeside	Inland	Total	Lakeside	Inland	Total	
16–20	5	2	7	6	4	10	17
21–25	3	0	3	2	3	5	8
26–30	4	6	10	5	1	6	16
31–40	10	4	14	6	3	9	23
41–50	3	12	15	2	2	4	19
51–60	5	3	8	1	0	1	9
61–70	3	4	7	1	0	1	8
71–	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Total	35	31	66	23	13	36	102

B: AGE PROPORTIONS IN THE SAMPLE AND IN THE POPULATION

Age group	Canadian census figures; Little Grand Rapids and Berens River bands combined (81 percent of adult records are from these 2 bands)		Rorschach sample (all bands)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
7–16	152	30.2	48	32.7
17–21	83	16.4	14	9.5
22–65	246	48.8	79	53.7
65–	23	4.6	6	4.1
Total	504	100.0	147	100.0

Certain differences in administrative procedure occurred, even though both Dr. Hallowell and the writer were trained in the Klopfer

system of administration, and hence viewed the administrative situation in substantially the same light. The notable differences included: (1) The necessary use of an interpreter by Dr. Hallowell for 83 (81 percent) of the cases (none of the Tuscarora records were secured with the aid of an interpreter, all being recorded in English); (2) offering the Ojibwa subject, who frequently used his finger to point out his concepts on the cards, an orangewood stick to facilitate locating responses (no such pointer stick was given to the Tuscarora subject); (3) telling the Ojibwa subject before the test that the card could be held in any position (no such instruction was given to the Tuscarora subject); (4) offering the Ojibwa subject a trial blot before the standard series was presented (no trial blot was shown to the Tuscarora); (5) administering the inquiry to many of the Ojibwa subjects immediately after recording their responses to the card, instead of making the inquiry only after the responses to all 10 cards had been recorded (the Tuscarora inquiries were all made after the responses were recorded for all cards); (6) recording Ojibwa reaction times by the minute hand of a wrist watch (Tuscarora reaction times were recorded in half of the cases by stop watch, and in half by the second hand of a wrist watch); (7) more liberal encouragement of verbally inhibited Ojibwa subjects than of verbally inhibited Tuscarora; (8) discontinuing the test with very anxious Ojibwa subjects, who thus do not appear in the sample (no Tuscarora Rorschachs were discontinued, once begun); (9) more consistent privacy in the Ojibwa situation, if the interpreter is not regarded as an "audience" (many Tuscarora Rorschachs were administered before an "audience").

The significance of these differences in experimental procedure, insofar as they may have affected essential data, such as proportions of determinants, is difficult to evaluate. Conducting the test through an interpreter may have had the effect of filtering out some of the allusions and nuances in the original responses, and of making a subtle inquiry more difficult. This might lead to scoring some responses *F* which actually involved other determinants lost to the examiner in the course of translation back and forth. On the other hand, Dr. Hallowell has consulted with Dr. Klopfer on this point, and both agree that forcing inadequately bilingual subjects to use English would have been more distorting than any interpreter; furthermore, that there are no apparent consistent differences between records obtained with and without an interpreter. The offering of a pointer stick to the subject might suggest to him that the examinor wanted him to pick out details; and this in turn might have led to a higher percentage of *D*, *d*, and *Dd* responses than would have been given had the pointer stick not been presented. On the other hand, however, the orangewood stick was only offered after Ojibwa subjects were seen consistently to point

out concepts with their fingers, so that the pointer simply facilitated a form of behavior already in use. Giving the Ojibwa subject permission, without his asking, to turn the cards, might facilitate his search for details, and might enable him to give a larger number of responses than if he had felt (as some subjects always do) that he must keep the card rigidly in the position in which it is handed to him. The trial blot, of course, may have reduced the reaction time to Card 1 in some cases, and purged that card of its threatening aspect as the first, strange, stimulus. This might reduce the incidence of rejections, anxiety-responses, tension-responses, on that card, or otherwise affect the subject's reaction to it. (These effects, however, would be more likely to be apparent upon sequence analysis than in the quantitative scoring.) Trial blots are an accepted alternative in Rorschach procedure, however, used for instance by Hertz, and Rorschach experts do not seriously question the essential comparability of records obtained with or without the trial blot. (Bell, 1948, p. 76). The mingling of performance proper and inquiry of course makes impossible any comparison of Ojibwa and Tuscarora response times. The less precise recording of Ojibwa reaction times probably would not make much difference, where averages or modes are concerned, since the Ojibwa reaction times are slow. It makes no difference in this study anyway, since the series of Ojibwa reaction times were not available to the writer during his study of the Ojibwa data. The items (7) and (8) above would seem to cancel each other out, more or less. Finally, the relative privacy of the Ojibwa situation might have led to comparatively fewer color responses than would have been given in the "audience" situation frequently observed at Tuscarora.

In sum, then, differences in administration *may* theoretically have been conducive to a higher Ojibwa *F* percent, a higher Ojibwa *D* percent, *d* percent, and *Dd* percent, a higher *R*, and lower *FC*, *CF*, and *C*, than would have been observed if both series had been administered according to the Tuscarora procedure. To the writer it seems, however, to be very dubious whether the very large differences in modal profiles could be due simply to such minor procedural differences. Dissimilarities have been stressed up to this point; but it must be emphasized that the essential outlines of procedure were the same in both cases, and that the meaning of differences in procedure is highly problematical anyway. To balance Kimble's observation on the unreliability of the Rorschach under varied administrative conditions (Kimble, 1945), for instance, there is Fosberg's report on the high reliability of quantitative Rorschach scores under varied administrative instructions (Fosberg, 1938). The writer's feeling is that variability in administration cannot be held responsible for the extensive differences which will be described in the following section.

Another conceivable source of confusion is differences in scoring between Dr. Hallowell and the writer. It would seem very unlikely, however, that such differences could be large enough, or consistent enough, to produce any significant skewing of the separate group results. Both investigators were trained by the same man (Klopfer); they had discussed scoring problems both before and after the writer went into the field; and Dr. and Mrs. Hallowell went over several of the Tuscarora Rorschachs in detail for the purpose of checking on the closeness of his scoring to theirs. Differences were noted in the handling of color responses, and the writer accordingly revised the scoring of all Tuscarora color responses. While undoubtedly complete agreement would never be reached, neither party feels that the error from this source is likely to be significant.

TABLE 8.—*The Rorschach attributes of the Ojibwa modal class*

Category	Crude mode	Sigma	Rounded sigma	Shape of distribution	Modal range
R	* 18.0	12.4	13	Platykurtic symmetrical.	5–31
F percent	* 69.0	17.3	18	do	51–87
M: sum *C*	3:1	5.45	6	Symmetrical	9:1–1:4
M	1	3.9	4	Skewed positively	0–5
FM	1	3.3	4	do	0–5
m	0	.5	1	J-curve	0–1
k	0	.3	1	do	0–1
K	0	.7	1	do	0–1
FK	0	.9	1	do	0–1
F	13	7.1	8	Symmetrical	5–21
Fc	0	1.2	2	J-curve	0–2
c	0	.9	1	do	0–1
C'	0	.4	1	do	0–1
FC	0	1.1	2	do	0–2
CF	0	1.2	2	do	0–2
C	0	.4	1	do	0–1
W	6	3.4	4	Symmetrical	2–10
D	* 11	6.9	7	Platykurtic symmetrical.	4–18
d	1	3.8	4	Skewed positively	0–5
Dd	1	6.5	7	do	0–8
S	0	.4	1	J-curve	0–1

* Mode computed by formula (mode=3 median−2 mean).

On the whole, therefore, the Tuscarora and Ojibwa Rorschach data would seem to be validly comparable. Possible sources of error exist and some of them, at least, have been recognized and can be allowed for. Neither sampling, administrative procedure, nor scoring appears to be divergent enough, however, to account for the large differences in group trend which are observed in the results. Accepting the inevitable deficiencies of experimental conditions in cross-cultural Rorschach work, these data are probably as comparable as can be expected.[31]

[31] Hallowell, n.d., and in conversation, is the writer's source for the foregoing information about sampling and administration of the Ojibwa protocols.

THE MODAL PERSONALITY STRUCTURE OF THE OJIBWA INDIANS

This sketch of Ojibwa personality is drawn from a composite Rorschach profile (see table 8 and fig. 7, pp. 99 and 100) produced by the same rationale and the same technique of statistical manipulation previously employed for the Tuscarora data. Twenty-nine (28.4 percent) of the sample fell within the modal class; of these 12 were Lakeside Indians (6 men and 6 women) and 17 were Inland (10 men and 7 women). The raw data are not reproduced here, however, nor will there be a parallel discussion of deviant types, sex differences, etc.—subjects which may be expected to appear in Dr. Hallowell's ultimate publication of his Ojibwa material.

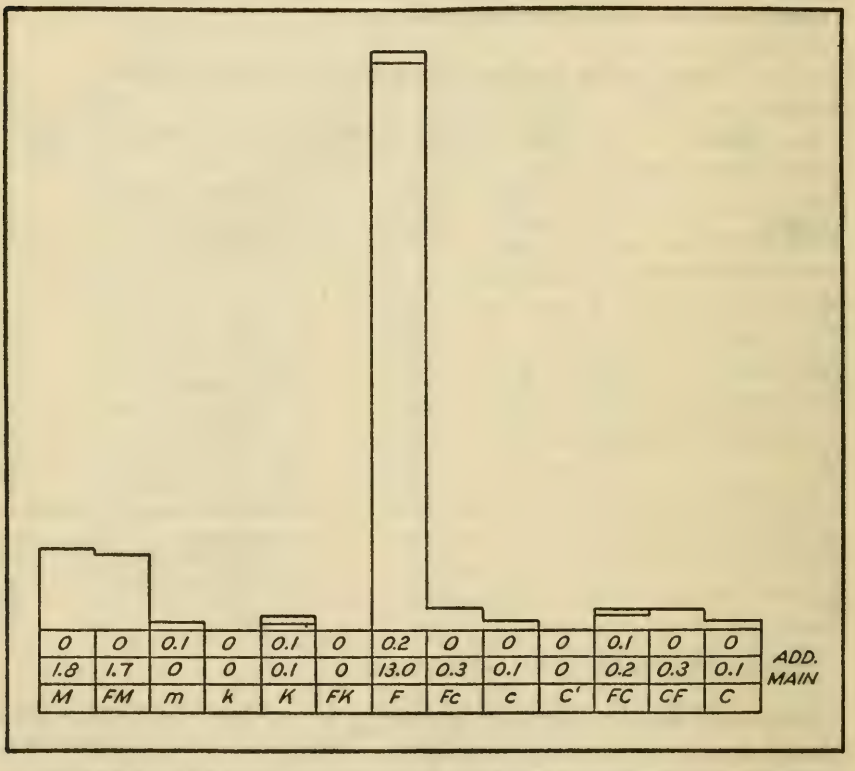

FIGURE 7.—The composite Rorschach profile of the Ojibwa modal class.

Total responses (*R*)	17.8.
F percent (*F*/*R*)	73.5 percent.
(*FK*+*F*+*Fc*)/*R*	75.0 percent.
(*A*+*Ad*)/*R*	56.8 percent.
(*H*+*A*):(*Hd*+*Ad*)	10.5:4.3.
Number of *P* (the Ojibwa *P*)	3.1.
Number of *O* (in Ojibwa series)	0.3.
sum*C*=(*FC*+2*CF*+3*C*)/*R*	0.53.
M:sum *C*	1.8:0.5.
(*FM*+*m*):(*Fc*+*c*+*C'*)	1.7:0.5.
W:*M*	4.6:1.8.

Percent	
W	25.8 percent.
D	56.9 percent.
d	7.3 percent.
Dd	9.5 percent.
S	0.6 percent.

Additional responses count as ½

F:*Fc*	13.2:0.4.
F:(*FK*+*Fc*)	13.2:0.4.
(*Fc*+*c*+*C'*):(*FC*+*CF*+*C*)	0.6:0.7.

The writer approaches the task of diagnosing the Ojibwa modal personality with some trepidation. One feels much less confident of interpreting Rorschach material which one has not personally collected, because one is never sure that he understands just what shade of meaning the other person has placed on administrative principles and scoring categories, nor can he take into account the general "feel" of the records. In this case, the writer has not examined a single actual Ojibwa record; he has worked entirely from Dr. Hallowell's master chart of Ojibwa response categories. This chart does not give information on: (1) time; (2) percentage of responses to the last three cards. Therefore, interpretation of this class of data is not undertaken here, although it presumably will be done in Dr. Hallowell's future publication. Furthermore, the master charts do not provide data for the preparation of a figure showing "qualitative" characteristics. Consequently no formal notice can be taken of qualitative data here, although in the course of the text, allusion will be made to some qualitative features described to me by the Hallowells in the course of conversation.

The manner of intellectual approach (Erfassungstyp), as revealed in the location percentages, is heavily pragmatic. The modal Ojibwa characteristically seeks out, in the total environmental situation, that detail, however small, which is familiar and congenial to him. He looks very carefully before he leaps, and when he leaps, he has picked out a spot to land. Each new situation is frankly sized up, dissected, analyzed; only those portions of it which have a high level of significance are reacted to, the remainder is ignored. There is some capacity, a minimal capacity, for taking the holistic view. But the prevailing tendency is to be analytical rather than synthetic, critical rather than constructive, opportunistic rather than idealistic. The Ojibwa is much more comfortable in dealing with small and isolated details of a situation than in trying to organize a complete Gestalt (social or otherwise). It is a selective kind of intelligence which simply shuts out those aspects of reality which are disagreeable or uninteresting.

The Erlebnistyp, as revealed in $M : \Sigma C = 1.8 : 0.5$, is decidedly introversive, suggesting a preference for "fantasy" rather than "reality" (although an M of 1.8 is not indicative of very mature, constructive fantasy, or of very large amounts of it.) This suggests further qualification of the Erfassungstyp: that the pragmatic, opportunistic approach of the Ojibwa is not an outgoing, wholehearted enthusiasm for manipulating the external world, but rather the manner of a person who is extremely shy of the outer environment, and can only react to sharply limited areas of experience. One imagines a very diffident kind of person, who keeps his eyes on the ground because he is uncomfortable in facing people, and whose preoccupation with the details

of his occupation actually represents a flight from social reality. Insofar as this avoidance of the wider scope of experience actually encourages high precision in the selected tasks, it permits an adequate social and economic adjustment; but when he is removed from the area of these details, there would seem to be no recourse but withdrawal into fantasy.

On superficial observation, the balance of internal forces displayed on the left-hand side of the graph would seem to indicate almost optimal psychic adjustment. Although no insight is evident (no *FK*), the virtual absence of *m*, *k*, and *K* suggests a remarkably low level of tension and anxiety. Furthermore, *M*>*FM* usually means a relatively mature acceptance or sublimation of instinctual urges. But the towering *F* column throws a different light on the matter. We shall have further occasion to mention *F* under the subject of control. At this point it is worth mentioning that an *F* percent of 73.5 means that inner balance and freedom from anxiety is obtained only by rigidly channeling fantasy and behavior in narrow, circumscribed limits. The potential *FM* and *m* have probably been swallowed up in the compulsion to produce *F*. In other words, impulses from within, which in a less rigid personality would lead to obvious indications of immaturity (*FM*>*M*) and of tension and anxiety (*m*, *k*, *K*), have been covered over by a façade of meticulous, careful, rigid behavior which deludes both the outside observer and the person himself.

The extroversial tendencies, as revealed on the right side of the graph, show extreme emaciation. The modal Ojibwa evidently does not readily invest environmental objects with libido. The virtual absence of *Fc* and of *c* indicate that he has relatively little inclination to view his environment as a potential source of gratification; certainly it does not promise him affection. He seldom attaches much libido to people; they do not promise him more than a minimal quantity of love and support. And when he does interact with people, more often than not the motives he entertains will be too crude, too inadequate to be efficient (unless he is able to cover up the essential crudity of the approach with a façade of tighly patterned, almost ritualistic behavior). Indeed, *CF*>*FC* might very well go with the high *F* percent, since the anxieties the Ojibwa feels over his own urges and the likelihood of their getting him into trouble in his environment might very well be reduced by obsessive-compulsive rituals, of which high *F* percent is often an index. There is furthermore no indication of an inner warmth toward people which is more felt than seen; the $(FM+m) : (Fc+c+C') = 1.7 : 0.5$, which is almost exactly the same as the $M : \Sigma C$. There are no inner reserves of extroversive feeling.

Clues as to the nature of psychosexual development, of which the already sketched elements of Ojibwa personality would be a function, are virtually absent in the data at hand. In these circumstances it

would seem to be legitimate to use published statements about Ojibwa personality—statements based both on Rorschach and on cultural and behavioral observations—to fill in the gaps. It should be understood that the structure of Ojibwa personality, as it has been delineated so far, need not depend for its validity entirely on the nature of the content exposed in the observations on psychosexual development.

A major problem in the personality structure of the Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa is the handling of aggression. Covert aggression exists in all persons at high potential, continually dribbling out in malicious gossip, hunting, and competitive sports, but never adequately sublimated in socially or personally acceptable form. Apparently this aggression is both disapproved by the strong superego (in the sense of "conscience") and disallowed by a cautious but strong ego, which fears (and rightly) that if the aggression were shown, retribution would be swift and terrible. Consequently open physical or even verbal aggression is taboo. What then is to be done with hostility? Some of it, of course, is displaced in gossip. Some is expressed in hunting, where, however, its dangers are avoided by the performance of various ritualistic practices designed to placate the offended animal spirits. (The formula is: "Although I killed you, I did not do it with hostility in my heart.") And some is projected onto other people, so that each person lives in constant dread of witches who may wreak their wrath, sometimes in revenge for minor slights and sometimes for no particular reason at all, on the behaviorally innocent bystander. One way of escaping witchcraft, of course, is to be extremely circumspect in behavior, and avoid contact—especially hostile contact—with other people.

Orality too is a threatening component in the personality. Oral impulses, either in direct form as hunger, or indirectly as dependency longings, cannot safely be accepted, possibly because they involve too much of an aggressive quality. Hence the individual attempts to be independent; the independence stressed by the Ojibwa can be construed as a reaction formation against unwanted dependent longings. Oral-aggressive impulses are projected in the dread of cannibalistic monsters, the windigos; that the windigo is really a projection of the Ojibwa personality under stress, is evident in the fact that the Ojibwa are known to have a form of neurosis or psychosis characteristically their own, in which the victim imagines himself to be transformed into a cannibalistic monster. (Cannibalism is subject to a horror-laden taboo, of course.) Oral-dependent impulses are in part handled in the culturally defined guardian-spirit fantasy, and in other fantasy creations in dreams, which have high value as being links with the spirit world.[32]

[32] The foregoing discussion of Ojibwa handling of aggressive and dependent impulses is based on Hallowell (1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1945 a, 1946, 1949) and Landes (1937–38).

Accepting for the moment the foregoing analysis of Ojibwa psychosexual dynamics, the function of *F*, the control function, is more apparent. Bedeviled from within by pressing impulses towards dependency and aggression, and threatened from without by rejection and physical punishment if these impulses are expressed, the Ojibwa has no recourse if he is to survive but to depend entirely upon his own ego to steer him clear of people as much as is feasible without thwarting minimal needs for contact, and to control his thoughts and his behavior in such a way that he does not get into trouble and does not have to worry about dangerous impulses. He must walk an endless, swaying tightrope over the abyss of his unconscious, buffeted while he walks by the social winds about him. In order to keep going, he must keep his eyes half closed, his attention fixed on each successive step, each lurch of the rope. He cannot think about the depths below or the turbulence on either side. If for one moment his self-control falters, if he is frightened by the abyss, or annoyed by outside disturbances, if he misses his footing once—he is lost. Or so he feels.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TUSCARORA AND OJIBWA MODAL PERSONALITIES

In a comparison of Tuscarora and Ojibwa Rorschachs, a number of questions can be asked. In this investigation, the question being asked initially is, "Do the two series of Rorschachs come from populations which are psychologically the same?"

In order to answer this initial question, the writer compared the proportions of the Tuscarora and Ojibwa samples, respectively, meeting the requirements of the Tuscarora modal class. Twenty-six cases (37.2 percent) of the Tuscarora sample met the criteria; only five cases (4.9 percent) of the Ojibwa sample met the criteria. Testing the significance of the difference in percentages by the large-sample critical ratio method, it appears that the difference is highly significant; in fact, if the Tuscarora and Ojibwa were psychologically the same people, a difference as large as this would appear by chance less than once in a million future samples. In other words: the Tuscarora are psychologically different from the Ojibwa, and the difference is probably sizable.

The next question is, "What similarities (if any, beyond common humanity) obtain between the Ojibwa and Tuscarora modal personality structure?" There are certain points of marked resemblance: the generally introversive tendency; the slightness of immediate anxiety (*m*, *k*, *K*, and *FK*); crudeness of emotional response to the environment (*CF*>*FC*); and the evidence in both of focal difficulties in handling dependency and aggression. Both the Tuscarora and the Ojibwa are people who are reluctant to enter into highly charged emotional relationships with other people; when they do enter into

such relationships, they show relatively slight subtlety in behavior. They would prefer to handle their impulses by suppression (Ojibwa) or by focusing them on stereotypes (Tuscarora). In both, however, the capacity for creative fantasy is inhibited by the threatening nature of the impulses, which in both involve conflicts over dependency longings and hostility. One would conclude, in general, that the modal Tuscarora and the modal Ojibwa are both persons who have been more or less severely traumatized in early dependency relationships, and have in consequence developed a marked tendency to withdraw and to avoid too free expression of both dependency longings and the hostilities attendant upon their frustration.

The fact that both types of personality experience dependency longings and that both have aggressive motives, does not serve to differentiate modal Tuscarora and modal Ojibwa either from each other or from anyone else. These two categories of personality problems are universally human; what distinguishes people psychologically from one another is, among other things, the way in which these common problems are handled. To be sure, their status as problems may also vary. It would seem that the Ojibwa is much more reluctant to make intimate social contact than is the Tuscarora, and that this leads to a much slighter ΣC and a minimal Fc. But it is not the difference between Ojibwa and Tuscarora ΣC and Fc which makes them markedly different personality types; if that had been all, the difference would not have been statistically, let alone psychologically, significant. The divergence in Ojibwa and Tuscarora personality lies rather in the different way in which the two peoples handle substantially similar personality problems.

The modal Tuscarora, as we have seen, although he is not eager to come into close interpersonal contact with particular personalities in his environment, is much better able to undertake a wide range of social relationships. He projects the "helper" or the "enemy" stereotype onto each unique circumstance and thus is able to relate himself, but in more or less an impersonal manner, to others. By classifying his community as a world of "helpers," he need not work out a large number of special relationships; he conceives the dependent relationship as right and proper, as the expected thing, which needs no subtle manipulation and no weighing of right and wrong on his part. His aggressions, likewise, he does not need to control and channel carefully, even though he is worried about them as potentially threatening to the dependency relationship; he can focus them too onto a stereotype, in this case the "enemy" stereotype, which his culture stamps for him upon the inhabitants of the forest and the swamp, and indeed, upon most of the off-the-reservation world. Thus even in his hostilities he depends upon other people to find him ways of venting his

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wrath, and in the act of displacement he becomes dependent upon his own community.

The modal Ojibwa, on the other hand, does not receive this sort of culturally sanctioned technique for handling dependency and aggression. He finds that he must be independent and that he will simply incur rejection and punishment if he attempts to be dependent. Furthermore, society becomes even more threatening to him as an adult than as a child, because it not only has frustrated his initial dependent relationship on his family, but it promises punishment if he tries to reinstate that relationship. Hence he does not accept his own dependency longings even in a stereotyped way (environmental demands are probably too pressing to make possible any dependence on stereotypes) and rigidly restricts his own reactions so as to satisfy his minimal needs without putting him in the uncomfortable position of being dependent. His hostilities, like his dependency wishes, are likewise a threat to his security; and once again, his culture provides him with no adequate scapegoat, no stereotype upon which they can be displaced. He must handle them himself, by carefully avoiding any overt expression of what he feels, and by discovering appropriate means of sublimation, projection, or displacement. All this demands tremendous ego control, a ceaseless vigilance against himself and against the environment, and leads to the development of a personality in which most of the libido has been withdrawn from the environment and from his own inner life, and has been swallowed up in crude control mechanisms.

To the superficial observer, both modal Tuscarora and modal Ojibwa would be "Indians." They would display somewhat similar shyness and reserve, similar crudity of emotional response; they would both fit the popular White stereotype of the sullen, taciturn Indian. The Ojibwa would appear to be somewhat more distant; there would be fewer cracks in the armor; his behavior would be more consistent, smoother in its cautious ritual. The Tuscarora would seem a little more "White" in his greater responsiveness and his fondness for abstract, if stereotyped, generalizations. In general, too, the Tuscarora would appear to be better adjusted (in relation to an absolute standard of mental health), both to himself and environment.

The differences described here, incidentally, go a long way to cross-validate the diagnosis for each tribe, and to validate the interpretation procedure of the Rorschach test itself. If the Rorschach did not test personality, it seems unlikely that differences as significant, both statistically and psychologically, could have been observed.

The considerations presented in this section, to the writer's mind, have gone a long way toward answering one of the questions which originally prompted this research. As the reader will remember, Dr. Hallowell and Dr. Fenton have asked whether the personality

structure of the Iroquois (of which the Tuscarora are one tribe) would on examination closely resemble that of the Berens River Ojibwa. Both Dr. Fenton and Dr. Hallowell predicted that a certain uniformity (but not complete identity) would be discovered, and Dr. Fenton introduced some recollections of personal experience into his own remarks, tending to show the existence of common personality traits, particularly, an inhibition of aggression which was very similar to that of the Ojibwa (Hallowell, 1946; Fenton, 1948). This study has indicated that a common core of personality traits is common to both peoples. But it would seem that the differences are somewhat more extensive than had been anticipated, although in a direction adumbrated by Dr. Fenton. These differences are manifestly congruent with the obvious cultural differences between Tuscarora and Ojibwa.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Cultural similarities between Tuscarora and Ojibwa are recognized in standard American schemes of culture-area classification. Kroeber (1939) includes both societies in his Grand Culture Area, "East and North," but the Berens River Ojibwa, of course, fall into the Northern and the Tuscarora into the Eastern group of areas—the two major clusters in this Grand Area. Wissler would place Tuscarora in the Southeast on strictly geographical criteria, the Ojibwa in the Eastern Woodlands; but since his "Eastern Woodlands" area includes both the northern Algonkian hunters and the horticultural Iroquois, it would seem that in Wissler's scheme Tuscarora and Ojibwa should fall into the same culture area. These culture-area schemes are, of course, based largely on material culture; but since infantile disciplines appear to be alike in both places (e. g., the cradleboard was used almost universally) some of the underlying similarities in culture are probably relevant to personality.

The actual similarities between Tuscarora and Ojibwa culture, at the present time (when the Rorschachs were taken) include a variety of material objects derived from the Whites in the acculturation process: clothes, guns, canned or packaged food, steel traps, rifles, chairs, etc., etc. An itemized list would be tedious and dubious in its relevance to personality structure. Both peoples have certain similarities in mythological themes: both, for instance, speak of cannibalistic monsters, both give great significance to the Turtle, both stand in awe of the Thunder, to both the Snake is a fearful thing. Both have nuclear families; both have a sib system. But beyond these and other scattering points of underlying resemblance, differences rise solidly.

Expressed in simplest fashion, the Ojibwa culture is atomistic; it does not require the cooperation of more than 10 or 15 people on any but special occasions. It is an individualistic society, with every man

for himself, so to speak.[33] In the fall, the separate families trek into the bush to their winter camps, where they remain until the ice breaks in the spring. In summertime, several families may set up their separate summer camps on the shores of the same lake, and dancing and conjuring, as well as a timid desire for social intercourse, may temporarily produce a wider unity. But the social structure is simple and the individual depends comparatively little upon it for support.

The Tuscarora culture in contrast is cooperative, even organismic. The community is geographically circumscribed and is permanent the year round; face-to-face relationships with hundreds of people are normal. The individual depends upon his membership in social institutions to provide him with satisfactions. Families do not live alone; they are part of a community. The National Land is communally owned, not split up into private hunting territories. The rule is, "If you help me, I will help you," rather than, "I can take care of myself." Agriculture and wage work imply constant and necessary social interaction.

On the other hand, Tuscarora agriculture and wage work permit a much higher standard of living (by Western norms) with considerably more leisure time, especially for the men; this was true in the old days as well as now. The economic surplus produced by agriculture (a feminine responsibility) made possible for the men the familiar Iroquoian pattern of male exploitation of the "forest" world, in hunting, war, the fur trade, and diplomatic negotiation. He could get along without a too-strict regimentation of his emotional reactions, by use of the stereotype and the cliché, and of the forest world, both of which provided avenues for the expression of affect. The Ojibwa, on the other hand, was faced with a continually pressing environment which necessitated careful and continuous attention to details of the subsistence economy, which demanded close cooperation by family groups. Unable to wear the rose-colored glasses of cliché and stereotype, unable to leave his comrades, he had to face the realities; therefore, he was more circumspect and guarded.

At some time in the not too remote past, the Tuscarora and the Ojibwa probably were very similar culturally. If one does not try to weight items by their importance, there is very little in Ojibwa that cannot be duplicated, even if in attenuated form, at Tuscarora. Relics of the aboriginal material culture, the mythology, the sib system, ethics, games, the guardian-spirit concept, dreams as auguries, witchcraft . . . the list is endless and convincing of a past close similarity. But the Tuscarora have added the whole village-agricul-

[33] The individualism of the Ojibwa may be reflected in the fact that they seem to be, as a group, less homogeneous in personality (only 28.4 percent of the Ojibwa records fall into the Ojibwa modal class, as compared with the 37.2 percent of Tuscarora records which fall into the Tuscarora modal class).

tural-political superstructure, which has completely changed the weighting of cultural items. For instance, informants will tell about the guardian spirit in formal terms which are very close to those recorded for Ojibwa; but no one really counts very much on the guardian spirit, and most people get along very well without one. Why depend on a guardian spirit when one can depend on people? Dreams likewise are auguries at Tuscarora; but the auguries are disregarded in favor of group decision. People hunt, but not for a living; the land, or a factory job, brings them their food.

The cultural differences, in their summation, have a meaning for personality which is precisely in agreement with the Rorschach material. The Ojibwa culture does not provide regularized stereotypes of dependency and hostility; and the personality structure displays a high capacity for self-dependence, self-reliance, self-control—indeed, the Ojibwa personality's only effective means of handling its own impulses is rigidly to confine thought and behavior to isolated, mechanical, but pressing details of daily existence which promise minimal satisfactions. The Tuscarora culture provides extensive if stereotyped techniques for interpersonal dependency and frequent interaction; these stereotypes, although an expression of underlying anxiety, permit relating the self to other people in a dependent or hostile way.

It must be remembered that these general statements apply only to the modal personality structure. Each society produces personalities which would presumably be more representative of the other than of their own. There are Tuscarora whose Rorschachs looks like typical Ojibwa records; and vice versa. There are also various deviant personality types in each society, who manage to get along very well, although sometimes by playing a rather specialized role. Furthermore, each society's behavior patterns are much more variable than ethnographic summaries indicate; and while a certain mode of behavior may not seem representative enough to the careful ethnographer to justify its inclusion as an alternative cultural trait, it may be used regularly by an individual.

One further point may be made. It may be suggested as possible that the differences evident between Tuscarora and Ojibwa modal personality are a function, not of their separate cultures, but of differing levels of acculturation. The argument generally implies that both aboriginal Indian societies were similar in personality, although different in culture, and that the differences are due to varying levels of acculturation. The implication is not easy to defend, since it assumes a lack of correlation between personality and culture in the aboriginal state, but a very close correlation as acculturation proceeds. On the other hand, if the modal types were originally radically different, under acculturation to the same culture, personality

structure should become more similar. While White culture in the Berens River district is undoubtedly different in detail, particularly in details of material culture, from the neighborhood of Niagara Falls, N. Y., these two White subcultures are probably more alike than the aboriginal cultures of the Tuscarora and Ojibwa. The differences now obtaining between Tuscarora and Ojibwa, therefore, are probably due to the remaining elements of aboriginal patterns, rather than to newly introduced White patterns. Both the writer and Dr. Hallowell have, furthermore, produced evidence to show that the personality structure in aboriginal times was in many respects very similar to that revealed by the Rorschach today. (Hallowell, 1946; Wallace, 1951).

In conclusion, we may remind ourselves that the problems of personality and culture are almost terrifying in their complexity. The national characters of two small societies have been here analyzed and compared; the task has required almost as much conceptual formulation as manipulation of actual data. The writer hopes that the techniques adopted here will be found useful by others, and that it will be commended as a workable manner of approach to some problems of national character studies. But he is only too acutely aware that, even within the confines of Tuscarora society, only a beginning has been made. Among other things, a fuller ethnography, and a case-by-case analysis of all Tuscarora psychological materials are needed. He hopes that some day he, or others, will be able to complete these tasks in the study of Tuscarora national character.

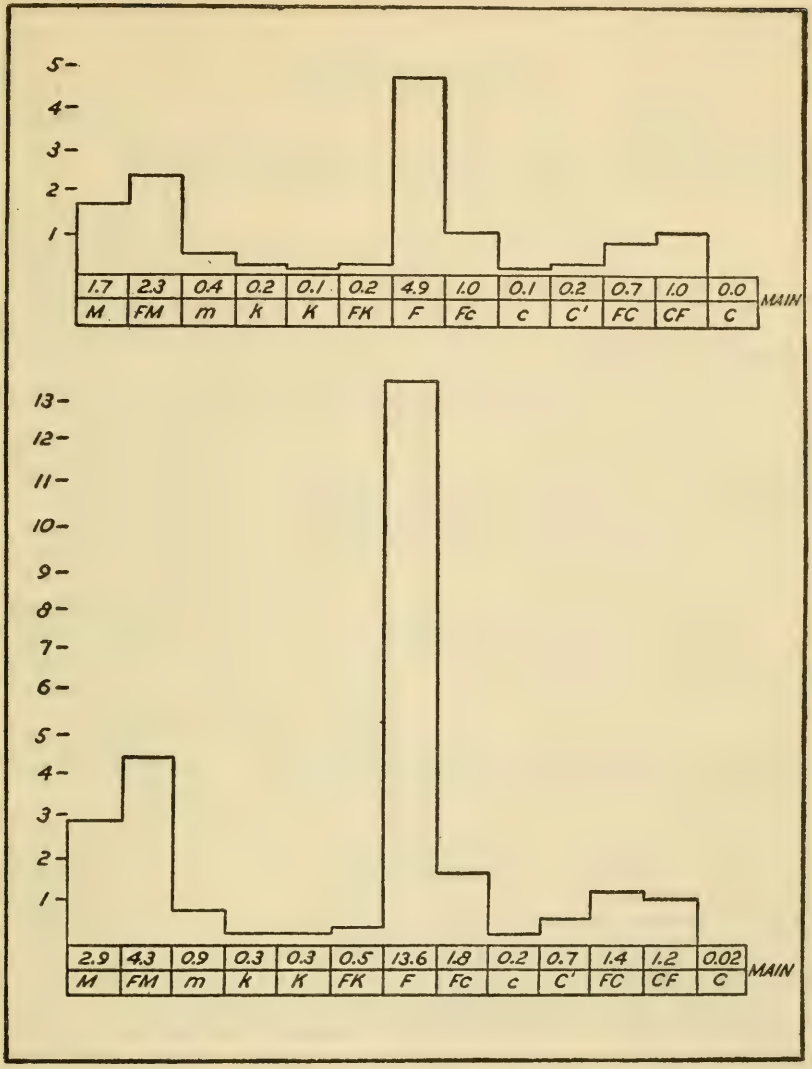

FIGURE 8.—Modal and average composite profiles compared (Tuscarora data): *Upper:* Tuscarora modal composite profile. *Lower:* Tuscarora average composite profile (case 65 omitted). (Same scale.)

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